Tense, aspect, modality and finiteness in East Caucasian languages

Edited by
Gilles Authier & Timur Maisak

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Introduction

This collection of articles originated in a series of presentations given at the conference "Morphosyntax of Caucasian Languages" held in December 2006 at the Collège de France (Paris). It appeared to us that among the many interesting contributions offered at that conference, a number were set in a rich and mutually inspiring dialogue involving the application of the same concepts to a set of genetically related languages. This volume is thus an example of how typology can be employed within the domain of a single family of languages (cf. KIBRIK 1998), in this case the East Caucasian family. Two of the articles here deviate slightly from this stance, showing that areal and contact-induced features (NINA DOBRUSHINA) or even universal tendencies of language (ELENA KALININA) can interfere with a family-specific profile. But overall the reader will find much in common between the large number of languages on which the argument of each article is based.

The prevailing classification of the East Caucasian (or Nakh-Daghestanian) languages divides them into several branches, whose higher-level genetic relationships are not straightforward[1]:

- *Nakh branch*: Chechen, Ingush and Bats (Tsova-Tush)
- *Avar-Andic branch*: Avar and a closely related group of Andic languages including Andi, Akhvakh, Bagvalal, Botlikh, Chamalal, Godoberi, Karata and Tindi
- *Tsezic branch*: Bezhta, Hinuq, Hunzib, Khwarshi and Tsez (Dido)
- *Lak* (often united in a common branch with Dargwa)
- *Dargwa branch*, which has long been considered to represent a single language, but which is in fact a group of closely related languages including Aqusha, Icari, Kubachi, Mehweb, Tsudakhar and others (with no generally accepted genetic classification)
- *Lezgic branch*: Agul (Aghul), Archi, Budugh, Kryz, Lezgi(an), Rutul, Tabassaran, Tsakhur and Udi
- *Khinalug* (whose relative closeness to the Lezgic branch is an areal rather than a genetic phenomenon).

East Caucasian is not a tight family made up of very closely related languages. Its typological diversity and historical depth are considerably greater than those of (for instance) the Turkic family, and it probably bears comparison with Indo-European in this respect. But not only do

[1] For a recent summary of the classification and linguistic geography of Caucasian languages cf. KORYAKOV (2006).

most of its languages retain the main characteristic morphosyntactic features usually assumed to have existed in proto-East-Caucasian (the few exceptions such as Udi owing their anomalous behaviour to divergence and external influences); the fact that they have remained in the same region, with more or less contact between them, further enhances the overall unity that makes these languages so distinctive.

There exist some striking typological similarities between East Caucasian and Turkic languages in contrast with other adjacent languages or language families such as West Caucasian (Abkhaz-Adyghe), South Caucasian (Kartvelian) and Indo-European. For instance, the major subordination strategy is left-branching, involving the use of non-finite elements as heads of subordinate clauses (participles in relative clauses, converbs in adverbial clauses, and masdars, i.e. nominalized verbs, in complement clauses). These subordinate forms often have other, finite uses, which can be broadly characterized as modal or low-focal (cf. JOHANSON 2000). The unmarked word order is also rather similar (basically SOV, GN, AN) in Turkic and East Caucasian.

On the other hand, some very basic features of these two language families contrast sharply and make all the more striking these common points and other, convergence-driven phenomena connecting East Caucasian and Turkic languages. The main characteristic feature of most East Caucasian languages is the existence of a category of gender which is generally expressed by agreement on verbs with ergative alignment, i.e. controlled by the S (single) or P (patient) argument. At the noun phrase level, Turkic has only a few, exclusively syntactic cases, while East Caucasian sets world records for nominal declension size thanks to its extensive use of spatial cases, which can even distinguish semantic nuances in grammatical relations (e.g. differential subject or recipient marking, cf. GANENKOV et al. 2008 and DANIEL et al. 2010 for details). Gender is not grammatically distinguished in Turkic, whereas the morphosyntax of the great majority of East Caucasian languages is pervaded by gender-number agreement and complex (but mostly agglutinative) morphology, both suffixal and prefixal; and while Turkic employs person markers for the category ‘subject’ on the verb, East Caucasian verbs very rarely agree in person, and in some cases (e.g. Udi) this is a recent and arguably contact-induced development.

East Caucasian languages are not dependent-marking to a disproportionate extent: their wealth in terms of the semantic role categories distinguished by case marking on arguments is paralleled by the existence of fairly rich distinctions in the syntactic relations expressed on the verb. Alongside voice-related morphology, which is more abundantly represented and less straightforward than often assumed, fine nuances of tense and mood are often expressed by bound morphemes; in some languages (most of the Lezgic branch, Lak and Dargwa languages) aspect marking includes infixes and apophony while other branches such as Avar-Andic

or Tsezic use periphrastic forms. Unlike in Turkic, specific indirective marking (evidentiality) is a marginal, and probably recent, category in East Caucasian verbal paradigms.

The papers in this volume reflect a part of the considerable advances achieved in the last decades both in the synchronic description of these languages and in the reconstruction of their historical development. The articles are arranged as follows:

MARINA CHUMAKINA'S presentation of Archi verbal complexity was initially conceived of as a careful assessment of ALEKSANDR KIBRIK's claim that the paradigm of a single verb in this language could contain up to one and a half million forms. For the lay reader Archi verb morphology will provide a typical example of an East Caucasian system, with a general overview of the categories usually expressed morphologically on verb forms, and will give some impression of the extreme complexity which is standard in the family. This complexity is established by calculating the amount of information to be memorized in order to produce the full range of possible combinations allowed in Archi verbal inflection. This is followed by a consideration of the sheer size of the paradigm: it is shown that this impressive combinatory capacity is balanced by the fact that only a comparatively small number of synthetic verbs exist in the language. Archi makes extensive use of periphrasis not only at the syntactic level, but also in order to create predicates by combining light verbs with non-verbal elements.

The paper by TIMUR MAISAK investigates the history of those finite verb forms in the Lezgic languages whose main function is to express present or future time reference. As a rule, such forms are historically periphrastic and are built on several widespread source patterns which involve imperfective non-finite forms (converbs and participles) and a present copula; besides the nominal copula, in some languages the locative verb 'be inside' can be used as an auxiliary with the imperfective converb. Also described is the very common semantic drift from present to future meaning in such forms (via habitual/generic and possibilitive values). A dedicated grammaticalization path for the future can be found in the pattern based on the infinitive, a form with purposive and potential meaning.

Diachronically, the Lezgic infinitive is in itself a nominalized form marked for the dative case in **-s*. GILLES AUTHIER discusses another development of a case-marked verb form into a non-finite and/or a finite modal category. In the Southern Lezgic languages Kryz and Budugh a finite modal form with debitive meaning is found, most often ending in *-u*, which seems to be the nominal adlocative case marker. Budugh uses the same form as a nominalized, non-finite form, while Kryz does not. This seems to indicate that the grammaticalization process in which a case marker, when added to a verb stem, may come to express modality does not necessarily imply a nominalized stage followed by 'desubordi-

nation' – the process whereby a dependent clause becomes reinterpreted as a main clause via ellipsis.

In her survey of non-indicative moods, NINA DOBRUSHINA shows that East Caucasian languages tend to possess dedicated morphological optatives – forms expressing the wish of the speaker. Her analysis is based on a sample of sixteen languages, including fifteen languages representing all the major branches of the East Caucasian family and one Turkic language of Daghestan (Kumyk). The paper provides typological arguments for distinguishing between two different kinds of optatives: while the Performative Optative is dedicated to the expression of blessings and curses (e.g. 'May your road be straight!'), the Desiderative Optative expresses a 'powerless wish' of the speaker (e.g. 'I wish the summer would come soon!'). It is also shown how these two variants of the optative interact with the jussive (third person command form) within the same verbal paradigm.

Their morphological richness and complexity alone would not be sufficient to single out East Caucasian languages for special mention in the typology of TAM categories. Another remarkable feature of this family is the very peculiar use it makes of finiteness distinctions. Two of the contributors to this volume have been pioneers in the typological investigation of finiteness as a syntactic property linked to discourse phenomena, demonstrating that many important oppositions in the verb system of East Caucasian languages are based on the illocutionary force and information structure of the sentences where the relevant verb forms occur (cf. KALININA & SUMBATOVA 2008).

The present paper by NINA SUMBATOVA focuses on the complex person marking systems for which languages of the Dargwa branch are well known. Such systems in most cases include three person-marking sets distributed across different TAM-paradigms: while the clitic marker set is used in the present and perfect forms as well as in other forms derived from full converbs and participles, one of the affixal sets is characteristic of optatives and similar forms, and a second affixal set is attested in conditionals and in the general present (or a morphologically parallel future). As concerns person ranking, two basic tendencies are observed in Dargwa dialects: some dialects (especially those located in the north of the Dargwa-speaking area) invariably place the first and second person on the same level in the person hierarchy, while other dialects (especially those located in the south-west) give preference to the second person. The author also suggests several hypotheses for diachronic explanations of these tendencies.

Finally, the article by ELENA KALININA which concludes the volume is a follow-up to her previous studies on modality expressed by non-assertive forms with non-finite uses. Here, data on exclamative clauses in six languages of the North Caucasus – Agul, Archi, Avar, Bagwalal, Bezhta (East Caucasian languages of Daghestan) and Adyghe (West Cau-

casian) – are analysed in the light of modern studies on the exclamative sentence type. In most of these languages, non-finite exclamative strategies are abundantly represented (Agul being a notable exception). Thus, alongside the use of finite verbs, exclamatives can be expressed by verb forms otherwise used for the complements of factive predicates (like 'to know', 'to be glad', etc.), by verbal nouns, or masdars, and by free-standing noun phrases with relative clauses. Typological generalizations and functional explanations for the observed strategies are also provided.

This collection of papers is intended as a first attempt to describe the main features and dynamics of verbal categories in the languages of the Eastern Caucasus, both for specialists in this area and for the broader audience of typological linguistics. We hope that it will prompt more studies on these and other categories in East Caucasian and adjacent language families. We also wish to thank Thomas Stolz for his interest and support, and Steven Kaye for his assistance with the English of the manuscript and pertinent corrections.

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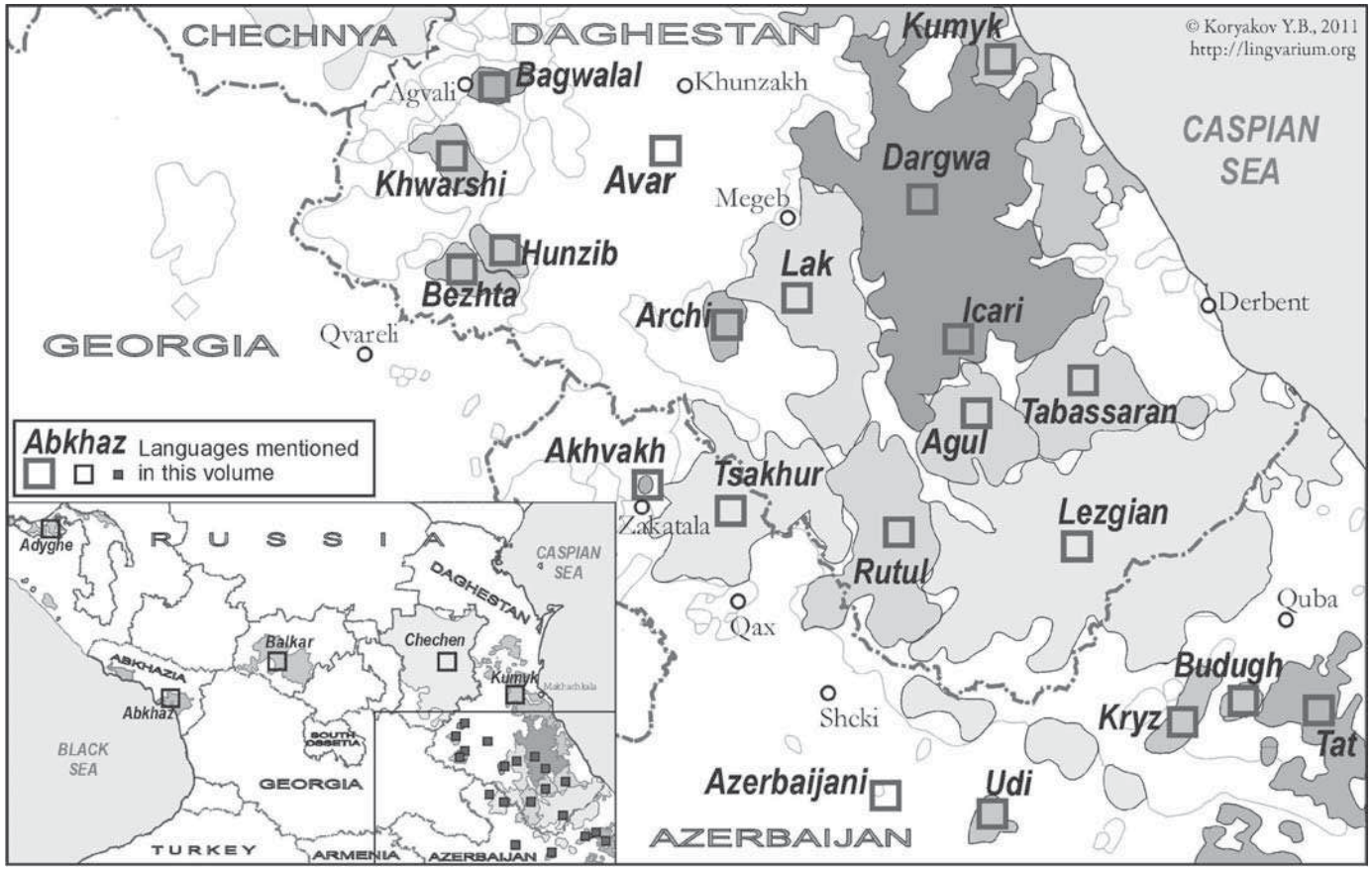
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http://lingvarium.org
CHECHNYA
DAGHESTAN
CASPIAN SEA
GEORGIA
AZERBAIJAN
Agvali
Khunzakh
Megeb
Qvareli
Zakatala
Qax
Shcki
Derbent
Quba
Bagwalal
Khwarshi
Avar
Hunzib
Bezhta
Archi
Kumyk
Dargwa
Lak
Icari
Tabassaran
Agul
Akhvakh
Tsakhur
Rutul
Lezgian
Budugh
Kryz
Tat
Azerbaijani
Udi
Abkhaz Languages mentioned in this volume
RUSSIA
Adyghe
Balkar
Chechen
Kumyk
ABKHAZIA
Abkhaz
SOUTH OSSETIA
BLACK SEA
GEORGIA
TURKEY
ARMENIA
AZERBAIJAN
CASPIAN SEA
DAGHESTAN

Transcription conventions and grammatical labels

For the transcription of examples we have chosen the system used in the Archi dictionary recently compiled by researchers in the Surrey Morphology Group (MARINA CHUMAKINA et al.).[1] It is close to the IPA standard and contains most of the characters needed to represent the large phonemic inventories of the East Caucasian languages. It has been augmented by some additional signs for sounds which are not found in Archi, so the full system includes the following characters:

Vowels:

- front – *i*, *e*, *ä*
- front labialized – *ü*, *ö*
- non-front – *ɨ*, *ɔ*, *a*
- non-front labialized – *u*, *o*

Consonants:

- plosives:
 - bilabial – *p*, *b*
 - dental – *t*, *d*
 - velar – *k*, *g*
 - uvular – *q*, *ɢ*
 - epiglottal – *ʡ*
 - glottal – *ʔ*
- fricatives:
 - labiodental – *f*, *v*
 - alveolar – *s*, *z*
 - postalveolar – *š*, *ž*
 - closed laminal postalveolar – *ŝ*, *ẑ*
 - velar – *x*, *ɣ*
 - uvular – *χ*, *ʁ*
 - pharyngeal – *ʕ*, *ħ*
 - glottal – *h*
- affricates:
 - alveolar – *c*
 - postalveolar – *č*, *ǯ*

[1] A dictionary of the Archi (Daghestanian) language including word sounds and illustrations, cf. http://www.smg.surrey.ac.uk/archi/linguists.

- laterals:
 approximant – *l*
 fricative – *ɬ*
 affricate – *kɬ* (velar), *tɬ* (alveolar)
- sonorants:
 nasal – *m*, *n*
 trill – *r*
 approximant – *j*, *w*

Additional features:
: long vowels and fortis/geminate consonants, e.g. *aː*, *eː*, *tː*, *kː*, *ɬː*, *sː*
ʼ ejective consonants, e.g. *tʼ*, *kʼ*
ʷ labialized consonants, e.g. k^w, χ^w
ʲ palatalized consonants, e.g. k^j, g^j
ˤ pharyngealized vowels/consonants, e.g. $a^ˤ$, $e^ˤ$, $q^ˤ$, $\chi^ˤ$
˜ nasalized vowels, e.g. *ã*, *ẽ*
ˊ (primary) stress, e.g. *á*, *é*
ˋ secondary stress, e.g. *à*, *è*

The order of additional signs is "long > pharyngealized" in vowels (cf. $aːˤ$, $eːˤ$) and "fortis/geminate > ejective > labialized/palatalized > pharyngealized" in consonants (cf. *qːʼ*, $qːʷ$, $qːʼˤ$, $qʷˤ$, $qʼˤ$, $qʼʷˤ$ etc.).

For reasons of consistency, the transcription of examples taken from other sources has been brought into accordance with the same conventions. If the original did not provide glosses and/or English translation, these have been added by the author of the paper in question.

For the principles of morpheme-by-morpheme glossing and the choice of abbreviations for grammatical labels we generally follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules[2]. Segmentable morphemes are separated by hyphens and grammatical morphemes are rendered by abbreviated grammatical category labels (in SMALL CAPITALS). In cases where several abbreviations correspond to one morpheme they are separated by full stops; non-overt categories are indicated in the same way or by means of round brackets. Person and number labels are not separated by a full stop, cf. 1SG, 2SG, 3PL, etc. Gender infixes are enclosed by angle brackets if the segmentation is clear; otherwise, the infixes are not separated and the corresponding gloss is given before the verb root.

The glossing strategies are not completely consistent in several respects. Thus, noun genders are marked by letters M(asculine), F(eminine) and N(euter) in case of three-term systems, and the four-term distinction is marked either by means of an additional label for the animate class (M, F, A, N) or simply with the use of numbers for the four classes (I, II, III, IV). In most papers, free pronouns and person agreement markers are

[2] Cf. http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php (revised version of February 2008).

glossed identically with the abbreviations 1SG, 2SG, etc. However, in the paper devoted to person markers in Dargwa, where it was necessary to highlight the opposition between these two classes of units, free pronouns are glossed by means of the corresponding English translations ('I', 'you.SG', 'you.PL', etc.). Also, as the main focus of the volume is the verb, in many instances nominal case forms have not been fully segmented, and the oblique stem marker has not been treated as a separate morpheme.

Complete lists of abbreviations are provided at the end of the individual papers.

The most important abbreviations are:

1, 2, 3	persons
I, II, III, IV, V	genders
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ADV	adverb(ial)
ALL	allative
AOR	aorist
ATR	attributive
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
COP	copula
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
EL	elative
ERG	ergative
EVID	(non)evidential
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
H	human
HPL	human plural
IMP	imperative
IN	localization 'in' ('inside')
INF	infinitive
IPF	imperfective
LAT	lative
M	masculine
MSD	masdar (verbal noun)
N	neuter
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalization
NPL	non-human plural
OBL	oblique (stem)
OPT	optative
PASS	passive
PF	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POST	localization 'post' ('behind')
PROH	prohibitive
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCL	particle
PTCP	participle
PV	preverb
Q	question
QUOT	quotative
REFL	reflexive
RES	resultative
S	single argument of canonical in transitive verb
SEQ	sequential (converb)
SG	singular
SUB	localization 'sub' ('under, below')
SUPER	localization 'super' ('up, above')

MARINA CHUMAKINA (Surrey)

Morphological complexity of Archi verbs

Abstract

The verbal morphology of Archi has been claimed to be outstandingly complex. I test this claim by establishing the amount of information about the verbal paradigm that has to be memorized as opposed to being inferred. I first provide some general information on Archi, its speakers, and the sources of the data used here (section 1), and then give some information about Archi inflectional morphology (section 2). Section 3 gives details of the morphology of the Archi verb, discussing the size of the paradigm and the irregularities it shows. Section 4 discusses different views of morphological complexity in relation to Archi. Section 5 describes the production of verb forms in Archi. Section 6 gives some conclusions.

1. The Archi language and its speakers

Archi is a North-East Caucasian language of the Lezgic group. It is spoken by about 1200 people living in seven settlements situated within walking distance of each other in Southern Daghestan. The name "Archib" is used by the Archi people and their neighbours to refer to either the whole group of settlements or just the central (and largest) village.

Archi is well described. A detailed three-volume grammatical description supplemented with 40 texts (about 2000 sentences) and a 3000 item dictionary were published in 1977 (KIBRIK et al. 1977a–d). In 2007, within the project "Five Languages of Eurasia", the texts were digitised and supplied with interlinear glosses. For this paper I use this digitised variant, courtesy of Alexander Arkhipov and Michael Daniel (KIBRIK et al. online). I also use my own field data, gathered in the course of six field trips to Archi in 2004–2007. These trips formed part of a project to compile an electronic Archi-Russian-English dictionary, undertaken by the Surrey Morphology Group (CHUMAKINA et al. 2007, CHUMAKINA et al. online).

2. Archi inflectional morphology

Archi possesses the following major word classes: nouns, pronouns, numerals, adjectives, verbs and adverbs; and two minor word classes: postpositions and particles. In this paper I deal with verbs only, and in the present section I outline the gender system in Archi because of its importance for verbal agreement.

There are four **genders**, the first and second denoting male and female humans respectively. Other nouns belong to the third and fourth genders, and it is impossible to predict to which of the two genders any given noun will belong. The gender of a noun is established by the agreement behaviour it triggers; agreement is shown by nearly all adjectives, less than 40% of verbs (based on the sample of 1330 verbs in our dictionary), some pronouns, some adverbs, and a few postpositions and particles.

Table 1 shows Archi gender-number markers (I follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules in notating infixes in angle brackets):

	SG		PL		
	verbs	adjectives adverbs, particles, postpositions	verbs	adverbs, particles, postpositions	adjectives
I	*w-/‹w›*	*-w*	*b-/‹b›*	*-b*	*-ib*
II	*d-/‹r›*	*-r*			
III	*b-/‹b›*	*-b*	*Ø*	*-t'*	
IV	*Ø*	*-t'/-t*			

Table 1: Gender-number marking

As Table 1 shows, all word classes distinguish four genders in the singular. In the plural, adjectives do not mark gender at all, while verbs and some other word classes make a two-way distinction: human plural (comprising first and second genders), and non-human plural (comprising third and fourth genders).

3. Overview of Archi verb morphology

The size of the Archi verb paradigm strains credibility: KIBRIK calculates that in principle a single verb has 1,502,839 forms (KIBRIK 1998: 466–467). He gives a detailed account of how this number is calculated, and I provide only a brief summary here. The Archi verb has both "basic" tense/aspect/mood/evidentiality forms and related converbs, participles and masdars (verbal nouns), which together come to a total of 12,405 forms for each verb lexeme. It should be borne in mind that this number includes periphrastic forms.

The Archi verb agrees with the absolutive argument of the clause in gender and number. The masdars can also take case endings. These two factors increase the size of the paradigm to 188,463 forms.

Furthermore, all finite forms of the Archi verb (including the periphrastic forms) have the potential to bear the reportative suffix *-(e)r* ("commentative" in KIBRIK's terminology): I provide some examples in section 3.3. Besides adding to the finite forms, the reportative can serve as a base for further participles.

There is a special form of the admirative which is produced with the auxiliary verb *χos* 'find'. It takes an intermediate position between periphrastic form and free syntactic phrase (KIBRIK 1977b: 239). As such, the admirative is not included in the paradigm count, but its reportative forms are.

These additional reportative and admirative reportative forms (excluding gender and number distinctions) reach a total of 107,078. When gender/number and case distinctions are taken into account, this number rises to 1,314,376 forms. Added to 188,463 this gives 1,502,839 forms altogether.

The number of moods on which this count is based is not uncontroversial, and I discuss it in section 3.3.

3.1. Verb stems: formation and usage

Let us consider what is required in order to produce the actual verb forms of Archi. The most basic are the forms shown in Table 2.

	PF	IPF	IMP	INF	POT
'divide'	*qʕo*[1]	*qʕa-r*	*qʕa*	*qʕa-s*	*qʕo-qi*
'get cold'	*qa*	*qe‹r›qi-r*	*qeqi*	*qe-s*	*qa-qi*
'beat'	*daχdi*	*da‹r›χi-r*	*daχi*	*daχi-s*	*daχdi-qi*

Table 2: Regular stem formation

These forms have two functions: they can be used independently, as separate words (main or dependent predicates), and they can serve as a morphological base for other verb forms. One can see that even "regular" stem formation is not trivial. The 'odd one out' here is the potential stem[2]: its formation is regular and is based on the perfective stem. It is as productive a stem as all the others, serving as a base for converbs and

[1] The ʕ sign marks pharyngealisation, a secondary articulation of consonants or vowels whereby the epiglottis is constricted during the articulation of the sound. Acoustically, it is characterized by a lower frequency of the third and a higher frequency of the first formant (LADEFOGED & MADDIESON 1996: 307). In Archi it is phonologically distinctive on stressed vowels and uvular consonants, but it also has an effect on the rest of the word (the formants of all the vowels are affected to a certain degree).

[2] I have retained the term "potential aspect" used by KIBRIK (1977b, 1998), who describes its meaning as 'event P may take place'.

participles. But since its formation is regular, I will not show it in the examples and tables to follow.

As regards the meanings borne by these various stems, the infinitive and the imperative are the easiest to characterize: they are used in roughly the same way as their European counterparts (with the caveat that the infinitive may have a morphological slot for gender-number agreement). The perfective and imperfective stem forms (called "aspectual stems" in grammatical descriptions of Archi) have the following meanings when used as independent predicates:

- perfective: 'the action has taken place and is finished';
- imperfective: 'the situation is habitual and neutral to the moment of speech' (based on KIBRIK 1977b: 192–198).

The aspectual nature of these stems can also be detected when they serve as bases for converbs: converbs based on the perfective stem denote an action that has been completed before the action of the main verb, while converbs based on the imperfective stem denote an action that takes place simultaneously with that of the main verb. Converbs based on the potential stem are used in one periphrastic tense ('immediate future'), and in conditional and concessive clauses.

KIBRIK (1977b) states that sentences headed by aspectual forms of the verb are tenseless, and that temporal reference is secondary for these forms. However, these two statements are not identical. Each aspectual form does possess a temporal meaning, which may indeed be secondary but cannot be suppressed by the context. This is especially true for the imperfective and the potential.

The following examples illustrate the meanings of the stems when they are used as independent predicates. The imperfective stem can be used for the present habitual:

(1) *doba-mu* *muː-ši* *kʼob* ***a-r***
granny(II)-SG.ERG be.nice-CVB clothes(IV)[PL.ABS] **IV.PL.do-IPF**
'My granny makes good dresses (is a good seamstress).'

It can also, though rarely, refer to an actual present:

(2) *daki* *un* *za-tːi-k* ***b-eˢ‹r›šu-rʔ***
why 2SG.ABS 1SG.OBL-SUPER-LAT **III.SG-‹IPF›run-IPF**
'Why are you running towards me?'

It cannot be used to refer to past events, for which a periphrastic tense employing the past auxiliary is used instead:

(3) *doba-mu* *muː-ši* *kʼob*
granny(II)-SG.ERG be.nice-CVB clothes(IV)[PL.ABS]
a-r-ši ***edi***
IV.PL.do-IPF-CVB **IV.PL.be.PST**
'My granny made good dresses (was a good seamstress).'

The progressive past is expressed by the same form, so in an appropriate context (3) could mean 'My granny was making good dresses'. The potential stem is used to express future meaning:

(4) *zari* *k'ob* *oc:'u-qi*
1SG.ERG clothes(IV)[PL.ABS] IV.PL.wash-POT
'I'll wash the clothes.'

The temporal reference of a sentence with the perfective predicate denotes an action which is finished but whose result is relevant in the present:

(5) *tok* *oqˤa*
current(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]leave.PF
'There has been a power cut.' (and there is still no electricity)

Archi simple forms express tense and aspect simultaneously. The aspectual meaning can be taken as primary (this is reinforced by the fact that aspectual meaning is preserved in converbs), but nonetheless one cannot claim that sentences headed by morphologically simple predicates are tenseless.

Table 2 above showed regular stems. The rules for their formation are quite complex; they were formulated in (KIBRIK 1977b: 63–71) and involve the postulation of an abstract root (a linguistic construct). The picture is complicated further by the fact that there also exist 22 irregular verbs for which these rules do not work. Examples of these irregular verbs are shown in Table 3.

	PF	IPF	IMP	INF
'carry away'	*oχ:a*	*orχ:i-r*	*χ:a*	*χ:e-s*
'go'	*oqˤa*	*orqˤi-r*	*oqˤa*	*qˤe-s*
'boil'	*set:e*	*sal*	*sisi*	*s:ubu-s*

Table 3: Irregular stem formation

In Tables 2 and 3, I have shown the stems of Archi verbs in the form of gender IV (singular), where the marker is zero, but to use them in sentences the speaker must also know the rules for adding gender-number markers. Table 4 shows an example of a verb in all gender-number forms.

Number	Gender	PF	IPF	INF	IMP
SG	I	*a‹w›χu*	*w-a‹r›χa-r*	*w-aχa-s*	*w-aχa*
	II	*a‹r›χu*	*d-a‹r›χa-r*	*d-aχa-s*	*d-aχa*
	III	*a‹b›χu*	*b-a‹r›χa-r*	*b-aχa-s*	*b-aχa*
	IV	*aχu*	*a‹r›χa-r*	*aχa-s*	*aχa*
PL	I	*a‹b›χu*	*b-a‹r›χa-r*	*b-aχa-s*	*b-aχa*
	II				
	III	*aχu*	*a‹r›χa-r*	*aχa-s*	*aχa*
	IV				

Table 4: Gender-number forms of the verb *aχas* 'lie down, be asleep'

In this example, gender is marked by prefixes in the imperfective (here, *‹r›-r* is the imperfective marker), the infinitive and the imperative, and by infixes in the perfective, but this is not the only possible way of marking agreement. In some verbs, the agreement markers supplant the imperfective markers. The following two examples illustrate these contrasting possibilities.

A. Gender-number marker is prefixal, imperfective marker is *‹r›-r* everywhere:

	PF		IPF		INF		IMP	
'milk'	III	IV	III	IV	III	IV	III	IV
	b-acu	*acu*	*b-a‹r›ca-r*	*a‹r›ca-r*	*b-aca-s*	*aca-s*	*b-aca*	*aca*

B. Gender-number marker is infixal, supplanting the first *‹r›* of the imperfective marker where appropriate:

	PF		IPF		INF		IMP	
'drop'	III	IV	III	IV	III	IV	III	IV
	ca‹b›χu	*caχu*	*ca‹b›χa-r*	*ca‹r›χa-r*	*ca‹b›χa-s*	*caχa-s*	*ca‹b›χa*	*caχa*

To summarise all that has been said above: an Archi speaker needs to be able to produce four stems for each verb, namely perfective, imperfective, infinitive and imperative. In order to produce the correct agreement forms of these stems, it is enough to know where agreement is marked on two of the four: the perfective and imperfective stems. The place of the agreement marker in the infinitive is the same as in the perfective, and in the imperative it is the same as in the imperfective.

3.2. Non-finite forms

The next step in understanding Archi verb inflection concerns the formation of the non-finite forms: converbs, participles and verbal nouns (masdars).

3.2.1. Converbs

Converbs are non-finite verb forms, used in dependent clauses to mark secondary action. There are two types of converbs in Archi: non-specialised and specialised. Non-specialised converbs express an action preceding the main action or occurring simultaneously with it. They are also used to form periphrastic tenses.

The perfective converb marks posteriority (6) and the imperfective marks simultaneity (7):

(6) *han* *uw-qi* *bo-li* ***ca‹r›χu-li***
what do[IV.SG]-POT say-EVID **‹II.SG›fall.down-CVB**
gumgum *a‹b›qʕu*
jug(III)[SG.ABS] ‹III.SG›break.PF
'What is to be done, she said, **having fallen down** I broke the jar…'

(7) *aro-wu* ***a-r-ši*** *šːutʼa-r-ši*
work(IV)[SG.ABS]-and **IV.SG.do-IPF-CVB** whistle-IPF-CVB
w-i
I.SG-be.PRS
‘**While working**, he is whistling’. [KIBRIK 1977b: 248]

The converbs are produced from different verb stems, as shown in Table 5. The “continuous” converb (formed with the suffix *-mat*) is used only to form periphrastic tenses with the meaning ‘the action continues for longer than anticipated’:

(8) *to-r* *ʁˤaž-ar-mat* *d-i*
that.one-II.SG.ABS cut-IPF-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
‘She is (still) haycutting’ [although she was supposed to stop some time ago]

Simultaneous				Continuous		
Stem	Affix	‘work’ in I.SG		Stem	Affix	‘work’ in I.SG
IPF			*w-irχːʷin-ši*	IPF	*-mat*	*w-irχːʷim-mat*
	-ši	NEG	no form	PF		*w-irχʷni-mat*
INF			*w-irχʷmus-ši*			
		NEG	*w-irχʷmus-tʼu-ši*			
POT			*w-irχʷni-qi-ši*			
		NEG	*w-irχʷnaː-tʼu-ši*			
PF	*-li,*		*w-irχʷni-li*			
	-na		*w-irχʷni-na*			
		NEG	*w-irχʷni-tʼaw*			

Table 5: Formation of the non-specialised converbs

The formation of converbs of this type is straightforward and involves no irregularity whatsoever.

All converbs formed with the suffix *-ši* express the idea of prolongation of an action. Converbs in *-ši* based on the potential stem are used in conditional constructions and in the formation of periphrastic tenses:

(9) *nessen* *qʼul* ***aqˤu-qi-ši*** *i*
now board(IV)[SG.ABS] **split‹IV.SG›PF-POT-CVB** IV.SG.be.PRS
w-akːi
I.SG-leave.IMP
‘The board is about to split – step away!’

Converbs in *-ši* based on the infinitival stem are used to denote secondary action that is intended to be prolonged in duration:

(10) *to-w-mu* *marči-me-s* ***ko-s-ši***
that.one-I.SG-ERG all-OBL.PL-DAT **hear-INF-CVB**
dakɬ'-i-s *darqa-r-ši* *i*
door(IV)-OBL.SG-DAT knock-IPF-CVB be.IV.SG.PRS
'He is knocking at the door so that all may hear him'
[based on KIBRIK 1997b: 252]

Converbs ending in *-na* are used when the main verb denotes an action that has not yet taken place:

(11) *zon* *bo-li* *ɬ:an* ***c'abu-na***
1.SG.ABS say.PF-EVID water(IV)[SG.ABS] **drink.PF-CVB**
w-eˤ-qi *bo-li*
I.SG-go-POT say.PF-EVID
'He said: I'll go to drink some water'
[based on KIBRIK et al. online, 26.040]

Specialised converbs contain a marker (a suffix or clitic) which specifies the semantic relationships between the main predicate and the dependent predicate. They are produced not from the stems but from finite verb forms, including periphrastic forms, and it is unclear whether one should count them among the morphological forms of the verb or consider them as syntactic constructions. I give examples of these after section 3.4, which discusses similar problems in the formation of Archi moods.

3.2.2. Participles

It must be said that participles (and, for that matter, masdars) are labelled as non-finite solely for reasons of scholarly tradition. It is true that one of the functions of participles is to head relative clauses, but it has been demonstrated by Elena Kalinina (this volume and elsewhere) that participles (and masdars) in Archi and in many other Daghestanian languages can head an independent predication.

Participles can be produced from four of the verb stems by means of the suffix *-t:u*, which itself takes gender-number markers. Participles distinguish four genders in the singular. In the plural the ending behaves like an adjective (i.e. one form for all genders), while the stem distinguishes HPL and NPL as verbs do. The formation of participles does not show any irregularity and is identical for all morphological types of verbs, so I will illustrate it with a single verb, *aχas* 'lie down, fall asleep' (Table 6).

The negative forms are formed trivially by the addition of the negative affix *-t'u* before the participial affix: *aχa-s-t'u-t:u-t* 'one who is not supposed to be asleep', *arχa-r-t'u-t:u-t* 'one who is not always or often asleep', *aχu-t'u-t:u-t* 'one who is not asleep', *aχu-qi-t'u-t:u-t* 'one who will not be asleep'.

	PF	IPF	INF	POT
I.SG	*awχu-tːu*	*w-arχa-r-tːu*	*w-aχa-s-tːu*	*awχu-qi-tːu*
II.SG	*arχu-tːu-r*	*d-arχa-r-tːu-r*	*d-aχa-s-tːu-r*	*arχu-qi-tːu-r*
III.SG	*abχu-tːu-b*	*b-arχa-r-tːu-b*	*b-aχa-s-tːu-b*	*abχu-qi-tːu-b*
IV.SG	*aχu-tːu-t*	*arχa-r-tːu-t*	*aχa-s-tːu-t*	*aχu-qi-tːu-t*
HPL	*abχu-tː-ib*	*b-arχa-r-tːib*	*b-aχa-s-tː-ib*	*abχu-qi-tː-ib*
NPL	*aχu-tː-ib*	*arχa-r-tː-ib*	*aχa-s-tː-ib*	*aχu-qi-tː-ib*
gloss	‘one who is asleep’	‘one who is always or often asleep’	‘one who is supposed to be asleep’	‘one who will be asleep’

Table 6: Formation of participles

3.2.3. Masdars

The main function of the masdar is to head a complement clause, but it can also be used to head an independent exclamative clause (KALININA, this volume). The formation of masdars is less regular and must be learned for each verb together with the aspectual stems. Table 7 shows the formation of the masdars of the verbs discussed above, both regular and irregular. Unlike stems, masdars do not serve as bases for other verb forms.

	PF	MSD
‘divide’	*qʼˤo*	*qʼˤu-mul*
‘get cold’	*qa*	*qeq-mul*
‘beat’	*daχdi*	*daχ-mul*
‘go’	*oqˤa*	*oqˤ-mul*
‘boil’	*setːe*	*su-mul*
‘drink’	*cʼabus*	*cʼatʼi*
‘love’	*kɬan*[3]	*kɬan-kul*

Table 7: Masdar formation

3.3. Tense

Once we leave the domain of the stems, there is less irregularity in the production of verb forms. The majority of Archi tenses are formed periphrastically, by adding the auxiliary verb ‘be’ in the present tense form *i* or the past tense form *edi* to the three converbs (see above), as shown in Table 8.

		PRS (*i*)	PST (*edi*)
IPF(*kor*)	IPF-*ši*	*korši i* (present1)	*korši edi* (imperfect1)
	IPF-*mat*	*kormat i* (present2)	*kormat edi* (imperfect2)
PF (*ko*)	PF-*li*	*koli i* (perfect1)	*koli edi* (pluperfect1)
	PF-*mat*	*komat i* (perfect2)	*komat edi* (pluperfect2)
POT (*koqi*)	POT-*ši*	*koqiši i* (inceptive)	*koqiši edi* (pastinceptive)

Table 8: Formation of tenses of the verb *kos* ‘hear’ (IV.SG)

[3] Note that this is an imperfective stem, since the verb is stative.

The periphrastic tenses must be considered part of the verbal paradigm: their usage is regular and obligatory, and they form paradigmatic relationships with the synthetic tenses (see examples (1)–(4)). The syntactic behaviour of the verb 'be' when it is used as part of the periphrastic form is different from its behaviour when used independently. Consider the following example:

(12) *zari* *anχ:-u* *uw-li* *edi*
1SG.ERG fight(IV)[SG.ABS]-and IV.SG.do.PF-CVB **IV.SG.be.PST**
gelk'oč'ow-u *aq:'u-li* *edi*
crockery(IV)[PL.ABS]-and IV.PL.break.PF-EVID **IV.PL.be.PST**
'(Yesterday) I fought and broke some crockery'.

Here the verb 'be' functions as the auxiliary of the transitive verbs 'fight' and 'break', and takes the ergative as the transitive verb does.

However, when used independently, it is an intransitive verb governing the absolutive case (as in (13) below):

(13) *zon* *tenik* *e‹r›di*
1SG.ABS there ‹II.SG›be.PST
'I was there'.

3.4. Mood

As was said above, the verbal moods in Archi are formed on the basis of the stems, and no irregularity is associated with their formation (except, of course, for the Imperative, which is identical to the Imperative stem). KIBRIK (1977b: 90–98) distinguishes 13 moods, and they play an important role in his calculation of the number of forms possessed by the Archi verb.

I list the moods below in a slightly different order from that suggested in KIBRIK's grammar, distinguishing three groups on the basis of their formation. The first group consists of forms easily recognised as moods: indicative, imperative, optative ('the speaker would like P to take place', KIBRIK 1977b: 226) and prohibitive ('the speaker asks that X not do P', where X is usually the 2nd person but can be the third person as well, KIBRIK 1977b: 223). These moods have different stems as their bases, see Table 9.

The second group contains just one member: the admirative. This looks more like a tense than a mood, being formed in the same way as the periphrastic tenses, namely by the combination of a converb and an auxiliary. The auxiliary in this instance is the future of the verb 'find', but unlike the 'be' auxiliary it does not inflect for tense. This tenselessness and the modal meaning of the form ('P happens unexpectedly') allowed Kibrik to treat this as a mood.

The third group comprises forms which are based on other finite forms. These are called moods on a purely semantic basis, and do not conform to a "European" expectation of what verbal moods should look like. Firstly, the affix attaches to the finite form or to the auxiliary (for periphrastic tenses), i.e. behaves as a group flexion. Secondly, some of the affixes show promiscuous behaviour (see below). From a morphological point of view, it is possible to classify these affixes as clitics; their phonological nature requires further investigation.

The third group includes cohortative (polite request), evidential ('the speaker and/or the hearer were not present when P happened', KIBRIK 1977b: 216), approbative ('P1 is true and the speaker likes it, but P2 is also true and it contradicts P1', KIBRIK 1977b: 211), conjunctive ('the speaker wants P to happen', KIBRIK 1977b: 214), dubitative ('the speaker doubts that P is true or asks whether it is true', KIBRIK 1977b: 209), interrogative ('the speaker asks whether P is true', KIBRIK 1977b: 208), possibilitive ('the speaker assumes that P is true' – KIBRIK, 1977b: 216) and reportative ('somebody said that P').

Mood	Formation		
INDICATIVE	four verb stems, no marking of mood as such		
IMPERATIVE	irregular (imperative stem)		*aχa*
OPTATIVE	PERFECTIVE stem + *-t:an*		*aχu-t:an*
PROHIBITIVE	IMPERFECTIVE stem + *-(di)gi*		*arχar-(di)gi*
ADMIRATIVE	periphrastic		*arχarši xoqi*
COHORTATIVE	IMPERATIVE + *-su*		*aχa-su*
EVIDENTIAL	AORIST and PAST TENSES + *-li*		*aχu-li, aχuli edi-li, aχuqiši edi-li* etc.
APPROBATIVE	all indicative forms except evidentials +	*-(i)di*	*arχar-di, arχarši edi(i)-di, aχuqi-di* etc.
CONJUNCTIVE		*-kini*	*arχar-kini, aχuli i-kini, aχuli edi-kini* etc.
DUBITATIVE		*-čugu*	*aχu-čugu, arχar-čugu, arχarši i-čugu* etc.
INTERROGATIVE	all indicative forms + *-(r)a*		*aχu-ra, aχulla, arχa-ra, arχarši i-ra* etc.
POSSIBILITIVE	verb in appropriate evidential form + *χoqi*		*aχu-li χoqi, arχarši edi-li χoqi* etc.
REPORTATIVE	any finite form + *-(e)r*		*arχar-er*

Table 9: Formation of the moods: the verb *aχas* 'lie down' (based on KIBRIK 1977b: 90–98)

As mentioned above, some of the modal affixes can attach to nouns. Example (14) shows the attachment of the dubitative marker *-čugu* to a pronoun *han* 'what', and example (15) shows the attachment of the reportative *-r* to a noun *hekɬ'əna* 'thing' and to a pronoun *han* 'what':

DUBITATIVE

(14) *ha,* *han-čugu* *kinik* *i?*
well **what(IV)[SG.ABS]-DUBIT** down.there be[IV.SG]PRS
'I wonder what is there?'

REPORTATIVE:

(15) *kɬ'arak-du* *hekɬ'ana-r* *wa-s*
down-ATR.I.SG **thing(IV)[SG.ABS]-QUOT** you.OBL.SG-DAT
marzu-t *kɬ'an-kul* *gulla-li*
clean-IV.SG love-MSD(IV)[ABS] bullet(IV)-SG.ERG
ača-s *kɬ'an* *han-er?*
kill[IV.SG]-INF want **what(IV)[SG.ABS]-QUOT**
'"What, you base thing, you want to kill our pure love with your bullet?" they said'.

If we count these among the mood affixes, their expected position will be on the verb, as in (16):

(16) *χir* *žu* *bo-r* *zon* *t'o*
after self.I.SG.ERG say.PF-QUOT 1SG.ABS NEG.COP
'Then he allegedly said: It wasn't me…'

Depending on how one looks at the mood system, four to five moods (those with dedicated forms, plus the periphrastic admirative) can be considered canonical moods, while the remaining eight are clearly sentence categories based on other finite forms; they can be formed from nominal predicates and some of them are blind to word class (such as the dubitative and reportative). If we remove these from our count, the size of the verbal paradigm will be dramatically reduced.

Note on specialised converbs:

Like the evidential, the approbative etc., these are built on the basis of finite forms. Table 10 shows their formation and meaning (P1 and P2 stand for main and secondary action respectively).

Meaning	Marker	Forms taking the marker
P1 and P2 happen at the same time	*-t:a*	all indicative forms, except the infinitive and evidentials
P2 is the cause or prerequisite for P1	*-m(u)χur*	all indicative forms
P1 and P2 start and end at the same time	*-ijkun*	imperfective
P2 happens after P1	*-t:an*	future
P1 ends at the moment P2 starts	*-kan*	infinitive
P2 and P1 refer to two closely connected events making up a single situation, and P2 happens despite P1 (concession)	*-mat:*	all indicative forms, except the infinitive
P2 and P1 refer to two different situations, and P2 happens despite P1 (concession)	*-šaw*	all indicative forms, except the future
P2 is a condition for P1	*-enč'iš*	all indicative forms
P2 presupposes P1, but P1 does not happen ('despite P2, not P1')	*-e:na*	

Meaning	Marker	Forms taking the marker
P1 and P2 refer to different situations, and P2 causes P1	*-e:rši*	
P1 is localised in the same space or refers to the space where P2 happens	*-ma*	
P1 happens in order to prevent P2	*-k:ut:*	infinitive
The speaker requests that P2 happen together with P1	*-lli*	imperative

Table 10: Formation and meaning of specialised converbs (based on KIBRIK 1977b: 106–107)

3.5. Negation

Negation is expressed synthetically on verbs by the suffix *-t'u*; it is totally regular for perfective and imperfective stems, cf. *aχas* 'lie down, sleep':

PF	PF.NEG
aχu	*aχu-t'u*
IPF	IPF.NEG
arχar	*arχar-t'u*

The potential stem shows the following vowel change under negation: *u* becomes *o:* or *u:*, *i* becomes *a* as shown in Table 11.

Verb	Potential	Negative potential
'bend'	*gu-qi*	*gu:-t'u*
'see'	*ak:u-qi*	*ak:o:-t'u*
'leave'	*akdi-qi*	*akda:-t'u*

Table 11: Formation of the negative potential

Negative periphrastic tense forms add the suffix *-t'u* to the auxiliary:

Indicative forms:
arχarši edi-t'u

Evidential forms:
arχarši edi-li i-t'u

4. Morphological complexity and conjugation types

So far I have been describing the Archi verb system with the goal of illustrating its richness. My second task is to demonstrate the balance between the size of the paradigm and the amount of irregularity on one hand, and the number of verbs it applies to and the frequency of use of the forms on the other. The first difficulty is that there is no standard procedure for describing complexity: "Linguistic complexity is a good ex-

ample of a property that has no consistent standard definition" (NICHOLS et al. 2006: 96). Linguistic complexity is generally discussed in the context of comparison across various languages, or across various stages in the history of one language (see, for example, DAHL 2004). My task is different: I am attempting to give an estimate of complexity for the current state of a single language.

Secondly, there are at least two ways to understand the term 'morphological complexity': one concerns the amount of information expressed by a morphological form, while the other deals with complexity in a morphology-internal sense, i.e. with phenomena such as declension classes, where the difference between two forms is not connected to any difference in grammatical meaning (see BAERMAN et al. 2009).

Archi verb forms are quite complex in both senses. In the previous sections I have shown that the verb form itself, whether synthetic or periphrastic, can express a rather large number of grammatical meanings: aspect, mood, tense, agreement features, negation, nominal case (for participles). There are also clause-level, or phrasal, categories expressed on the verb, such as (some) moods, evidentiality and indirect speech (reportative). The size of the verbal paradigm, even if we discount these syntactic categories (included in the "million and a half" count), is still impressively large.

The second level of morphological complexity deals with the information that the speaker needs to possess in order to produce all forms correctly. This is totally unrelated to grammatical meaning. Compare *akːus* 'see', and *caχas* 'throw', both bisyllabic verbs with the accent on the first syllable: *akːus* forms the imperfective by suffixation only (*akːu-r*), whereas *caχas* forms the imperfective by infixation and suffixation (*ca‹r›χa-r*).

Such differences in the production of verb forms determine the division of the verbs into conjugation types. KIBRIK (1977b–c) distinguishes thirty conjugations. Table 12 gives some examples, showing the forms needed to produce the whole paradigm.

Type	Verb	PF	IPF	INF	IMP	MSD	PF.III	IPF.III
1	'divide'	*qˁo*	*qˁar*	*qˁas*	*qˁa*	*qˁumul*	*boqːˁo*	*baqːˁar*
19	'beat'	*daχdi*	*darχir*	*daχis*	*daχi*	*daχmul*	*dabχdi*	*dabχir*
25	'knit'	*ɬːenne*	*ɬːemɬːin*	*ɬːummus*	*ɬːemɬːin*	*ɬːemɬmul*	*beɬne*	*beɬːemɬːin*
30	'freeze'	*qa*	*qerqir*	*qes*	*qeqi*	*qeqmul*	*baqa*	*beqerqir*

Table 12: Examples of different conjugation types (based on KIBRIK 1977c: 231–241)

These forms can be thought of as principal parts (after FINKEL & STUMP 2007: 40): "a set of principal parts for a paradigm P is a minimal subset of P's members from which all of P's other members can be deduced". For each of KIBRIK's thirty conjugations, the number of principal parts is seven, in that it is impossible to postulate the rules that will produce one stem from another and predict the placement of the gender marker in each

case. KIBRIK does postulate an abstract root from which the stems of each verb can be deduced, but it is important to note that this root is a linguistic construct, not a real form.

Moreover, for most verbs it is impossible to say which conjugation they belong to without examining several different forms in the paradigm. For just one example of the problem, compare the verbs below:

	PF	IPF	IMP	INF	MSD	PF.III	IPF.III
'put on'	*akɬu*	*arkɬar*	*akɬa*	*akɬas*	*akɬmul*	*abkɬu*	*barkɬar*
'hew'	*babc'u*	*babc'ur*	*babc'a*	*babc'as*	*babc'mul*	*babc'u*	*babc'ur*
'tear'	*χošo*	*χašar*	*χaša*	*χašas*	*χušmul*	*boχčo*	*baχčar*

None of the verbs have the same paradigm structure throughout, and it is impossible to choose just one stem which would reliably identify the conjugation of the verb. Thus, seven is the minimal set of principal parts which must be recognised.

In addition to the 30 conjugations, KIBRIK distinguishes 22 irregular verbs that do not fall into the conjugation system. For these he provides more forms than for other verbs: examples are shown in Table 13.

	PF	IPF	IMP	INF	MSD
'boil'	*set:e*	*sal*	*sisi*	*s:ubus*	*sumul*
'burn'	*eχdi*	*erχir*	*eχi*	*eχmus*	*eχmus*
'die'	*k'a*	*k'ar*	*k'imk'a*	*k'is*	*k'imk'mul*
'dry'	*q'ure*	*q'ʷar*	*q'uraq:'a*	*q'uras*	*q'uraq'mul*
	PF.III	IPF.III	IMP.III	INF.III	
'boil'	*besde*	*basal*	*bisisi*	*busbus*	
'burn'	*ebχdi*	*berχir*	*beχi*	*ebχmus*	
'die'	*bak'a*	*bak'ar*	*bik'imk'a*	*bik'is*	
'dry'	*buq're*	*buq:'ar*	*buq'raq:'a*	*buq'ras*	

Table 13: Examples of irregular verbs (based on KIBRIK 1977c: 231–241)

KIBRIK's reason for distinguishing a special group of irregular verbs is that it is impossible to postulate an abstract basic stem from which all their forms can be produced. If one does not use the notion of a basic stem of this kind and instead prefers the notion of memorizing seven forms, the majority of these verbs will not be classed as irregular: the rule for gender marker placement holds, and one does not need to memorize the extra two forms specified by KIBRIK for the irregular verb class (IMP.III and INF.III in Table 13).

Only four verbs out of those 22 are not amenable to this treatment: for them, the placement of the gender marker in the infinitive is different from from that seen in the perfective. The number of principal parts for these verbs is eight, and they are shown in Table 14 with the gender marker in bold (compare them to the verb *eχmus* 'burn' in the table above).

	PF	IPF	IMP	INF	MSD	PF.III	IPF.III	INF.III
'go'	*oqˤa*	*orqˤir*	*oqˤa*	*qˤes*	*oqˤmul*	*oƀqˤa*	*ƀorqˤir*	*ƀeqˤes*
'can'	*et:i*	*ker*	*ka*	*kes*	*kumul*	*eƀt:i*	*ƀeker*	*ƀekes*
'take'	*oka*	*orkir*	*karaka*	*karas*	*karakmul*	*oƀka*	*ƀorkir*	*ƀakras*
'take away'	*oχ:a*	*orχ:ir*	*χ:eχ:a*	*χ:es*	*oχmul*	*oƀχ:a*	*ƀorχ:ir*	*ƀeχ:es*

Table 14: Irregular verbs requiring the memorization of eight forms (based on KIBRIK 1977c: 243)

5. Archi verb production

So far we have been dealing with the amount of information needed to produce the full paradigm of an Archi verb, whether this information is viewed in terms of number of forms or conjugation type.

In this section I will show that this task, complex as it seems, in fact only needs to be performed rarely: firstly because there are not many verbs for which all these forms need to be produced (5.1), and secondly because there exists a "core" set of forms used often, as opposed to the remaining forms whose use is rather rare (5.2).

It is probably this rather small number of frequent forms which allows Archi speakers to say in one breath that their language is very difficult and complex, and very easy to master.

5.1. Verb types

The verb system described above concerns 170 verbs only, the so-called simple dynamic verbs. All other verbs belong to one of two types: stative verbs and complex verbs. These are described in the following two sections.

5.1.1. Stative vs. dynamic verbs

Archi verbs are divided into the categories 'stative' and 'dynamic'. Stative verbs, such as *kˡ'an* 'love', *sini* 'know', *hiba* 'be good', have only one stem (the imperfective) and very rarely show agreement, so the number of forms a stative verb can produce is much lower than that for a dynamic verb. But stative verbs are not numerous. In our dictionary there are 191 stative verbs out of 1330 verbs in total (only two of them showing gender agreement), so their existence does not make the task of mastering the Archi verb system significantly easier.

5.1.2. Simple vs. complex verbs

A complex verb consists of an uninflected part plus a simple ("light") verb. The first part of a complex verb can belong to almost any word class, as shown below.

A. Complex verb produced from a noun in the absolutive singular:

cac kes 'frown', where the first part is a noun *cac* 'prickle'; the second part is the verb *kes* 'become' (one of the most frequent verbs in the language);

dagawur as 'sign an agreement'. Here the first part is borrowed from Russian *dogovor* 'agreement'; the second part is a verb *as* 'do' (also one of the most frequent verbs). Note that the word *dagawur* is not used as an independent Archi noun, so *dagawur as* is a separate lexeme rather than a free syntactic phrase;

jabalgu as 'return a favour'. Here the first part is unanalysable – it does not exist as an independent word – but the second part, *as* 'do', is clearly recognisable, and this is only this part that inflects;

mišajətkul as 'disturb'. Here the first form is a "fake" masdar. The masdar ending *-kul* is added to the Russian *mešat'* 'disturb', creating a noun which cannot be used independently. Note that the masdar is formed from a verb that is not used in the Archi language in its own right, hence the term 'fake masdar'.

B. Complex verb produced from an inflected noun form:

k'asːan as 'slaughter'. The first word is the ergative singular of *k'os* 'knife';

baˤʁišla as 'bathe'. Here the first word is the locative form of *baˤʁi* 'lake, pond';

acː'is eχmus 'fall ill'. Here the first part looks like a possible dative of *acː'i* 'illness, disease'. The problem here is that the real dative of this word is *acː'i-li-s*, as the dative is produced from the oblique stem. The second part is the very frequent verb *eχmus*, which has many meanings, one of them 'catch fire'.

C. Complex verb produced from an adjective:

doˤz as 'grow', from an adjective *doˤz* 'big'.

D. First part of complex verb is unanalysable; second part is the verb *bos* 'say, speak', which has the following forms:

PF	IPF	INF	IMP
bo	*war*	*bo-s*	*ba*

These verbs show the highest degree of merger between the two parts. Here KIBRIK distinguished three conjugations based on the degree of merger displayed. Table 15 provides some examples of these conjugations.

		PF	IPF	INF	IMP
I conjugation	'stick in'	*q'e-bu*	*q'e-r*	*q'e-bu-s*	*q'e-ba*
	'throw'	*kam-mu*	*kam-ar*	*kam-mu-s*	*kam-ma*
II conjugation	'nod'	*k'erš-bo*	*k'erš-ar*	*k'erš-bo-s*	*k'erš-ba*
III conjugation	'stutter'	*ɬ:als-bo*	*ɬ:als war*	*ɬ:als-bo-s*	*ɬ:als-ba*

Table 15: The conjugations of *bos*-verbs (based on KIBRIK 1977b: 75)

To produce the correct forms it is sufficient to know the forms of the perfective and imperfective stems. Verbs of the third conjugation are easiest to identify as complex thanks to the imperfective form, as the two parts show no merger and the second part *war* is just the imperfective of the verb *bos* (see above).

The first and second conjugations are distinguished by the form of the perfective: in the first conjugation it is *bu*, in the second *bo*, i.e. the same as the form of the verb *bos* used independently. Membership of the first conjugation is determined by the phonological shape of the verb: the first part must be CV or CVC where the last consonant is labial.

The existence of complex verbs makes the task of mastering Archi verbs significantly easier. In what follows I divide the complex verbs into three types, from the least merged (simpler) to the most merged (more complex).

Type 1. Verbs whose first part is used as a separate word, whether in citation form (ABS.SG for nouns, IV.SG for adjectives, INF for verbs) or in some other form (most frequent are the Ergative, Genitive or various locative forms of nouns).

Examples:
cac kes 'frown' (lit. 'prickle become')
čula š:ubus 'flatter' (lit. 'smooth take')

Type 2. Verbs whose first part is not used as an independent word, but whose two parts are nonetheless clearly separate:

- there is a pause between them;
- each part retains its own stress;
- pharyngealisation, which in Archi is a characteristic of the whole word, affects only one word in the complex (normally the first, uninflected part);
- when the complex verb agrees for gender, prefixal rather than infixal markers are used (clearly seen in the second gender, where the prefixal marker is *d-* and the infixal marker is *‹r›*). This shows that the second part is perceived as a separate word starting with a prefix, rather than part of a larger word.

This type includes the third conjugation of the *bos* verbs (where the second part is merely the appropriate form of *bos*).

Examples:
c'aq' obcis 'rely on' (second part means 'stand')
sut:a kes 'go missing'

Type 3. Verbs where the two parts are merged.
Type 3.1. Verbs with *bos* in conjugations I and II above.
Examples:
aˤngaˤbos 'cry (of a baby)'
č'ak'bos 'chatter'
hakɬ'bos 'yawn'
Type 3.2. Verbs with an inflected part other than *bos*.
These are mainly verbs with the second part *as* 'do', which merges with the first part to make one phonetic word.
Examples:
aχtaras 'draw attention to'
likes 'go bad' (lit. 'spoilt become')
naˤkɬ'aˤs 'bruise' (lit. 'make blue'). Here the pharyngealisation from the word *naˤkɬ'* 'blue' affects the verb *as* 'do', showing a higher degree of merger.

The distinction between the second and third types is not always clear-cut, as the paradigm can have mixed behaviour, some cells showing merger whereas in others the parts remain separate. Table 16 shows the aspectual forms of three types of complex verbs: the separate second part is shown in bold.

Verb	Type	INF	IPF	PF	IMP
'frown'	1	*cac* ***kes***	*cac* ***ker***	*cac* ***et:i***	*cac* ***ka***
'be amazed'	1	*ħajran* ***kes***	*ħajran* ***ker***	*ħajran* ***et:i***	*ħajran* ***ka***
'flatter'	1	*čula* ***š:ubus***	*čula* ***š:ur***	*čula* ***š:et:e***	*čula* ***š:e***
'rely on'	2	*c'aq'* ***obcis***	*c'aq'* ***borcir***	*c'aq'* ***obsdi***	*c'aq'* ***boci***
'go missing'	2	*sut:a* ***kes***	*sut:a* ***ker***	*sut:a* ***et:i***	*sut:a* ***ka***
'charm'	2	*pana* ***as***	*pana* ***ar***	*pana* ***aw***	*pana* ***a***

Table 16: Examples of complex verb inflection, all IV gender singular

In terms of morphological complexity types 1 and 2 are equal, as in both cases only one part is inflected and there are no further complications. Type 3.1 is one step more complicated, as one needs to remember not only the paradigm of the second part (*bos*) but also the form of the imperfective:

'cry'	3.1	*aˤngaˤ* ***bos***	*aˤngaˤr*	*aˤngaˤ* ***bo***	*aˤngaˤ* ***ba***
'chatter'	3.1	*č'ak'* ***bos***	*č'ak'ar*	*č'ak'* ***bo***	*č'ak'* ***ba***
'yawn'	3.1	*hakɬ'* ***bos***	*hakɬ'ar*	*hakɬ'* ***bo***	*hakɬ'* ***ba***

Verbs belonging to type 3.2 are perceived as one word, and it seems that the whole paradigm must be memorized, but these paradigms are quite simple as they basically consist of the verbs *as* and *kes* attached to the initial part.

'draw attention to'	3.2	*aχtaras*	*aχtarar*	*aχtaraw*	*aχtara*
'go bad'	3.2	*likes*	*liker*	*liet:i*	*lika*
'bruise'	3.2	*naˤkɬ'aˤs*	*naˤkɬ'aˤr*	*naˤkɬ'aˤw*	*naˤkɬ'aˤ*

The paradigms of simple dynamic verbs have been documented by KIBRIK (1977c). I made sound recordings of verb forms for the dictionary with a young speaker (born in 1981), and it was while recording these verbs in particular that the speaker tended to show hesitation, levelled the irregular form or suggested alternating forms.

As I recorded the dictionary, verbs of type 3.2 proved to be as easy as verbs of types 1 and 2 in that there were no mistakes, variants or hesitations on the part of the speaker. When we were discussing verbs of type 3.1, however, the speaker would sometimes hesitate, or give alternative forms for the Imperfective. The variants in the Imperfective were with the *war* form. This is not surprising: type 3.1 is the "mixed" type in which some slots of the paradigm are filled by two words and other slots by one word. Type 3.1 with variants looks as follows:

'cry'	3.1	*aˤngaˤ* ***bos***	*aˤngaˤr / aˤngaˤ* ***war***	*aˤngaˤ* ***bo***	*aˤngaˤ* ***ba***
'chatter'	3.1	*č'ak'* ***bos***	*č'ak'ar / č'ak'* ***war***	*č'ak'* ***bo***	*č'ak'* ***ba***
'yawn'	3.1	*hakɬ'* ***bos***	*hakɬ'ar / hakɬ'* ***war***	*hakɬ'* ***bo***	*hakɬ'* ***ba***

Let us see how these types are distributed in the dictionary, excluding the 170 simple verbs. There are 969 non-stative verbs, which are distributed as follows according to the types outlined above:

type 1	type 2	type 3.1	type 3.2
454	121	366	28

We can see that more than half of the total, i.e. 575 verbs, consist of two entirely separate parts, only one of which inflects. For 366 verbs one form, that of the imperfective, needs to be remembered, and only 28 verbs demonstrate phonological merger with the inflecting part and thus begin to resemble simple verbs, but we should remember that all of these verbs inflect in a similar way.

Table 17 shows the distribution across 575 verbs of types 1 and 2 on the basis of the second (inflected) part of the complex.

	Type 1	Type 2
as 'do'	247	45
kes 'become'	110	21
š:ubus 'take'	14	10
ačas 'put'	7	–
qˤes 'go'	6	–
χ:as 'get up'	6	–
other	64	–

Table 17: Frequencies of light verb usage (type)

5.2. Distribution of forms

We saw that the Archi verbal paradigm is only truly complicated for a limited number of lexical items (circa 170 verbs). A rather large part of the Archi vocabulary consists of complex verbs, and almost all new verbs in the language are formed with one of only two simple verbs: *as* 'do' and *kes* 'become'.

However, having such a large paradigm even for a limited number of verbs can be a difficult task. In what follows I will show that in terms of type-frequencies the verbal paradigm has a core of forms that are used often.

I determined this core based on two sets of texts: one consists of five texts I recorded in 2006, and the other comprises the texts from (KIBRIK et al. 1977d), recorded, digitised and provided with interlinear glossing by MICHAEL DANIEL, ALEXANDER KIBRIK and ALEXANDER ARKHIPOV in 2007.

I counted tokens in these corpora, where one token is a verb form (finite or non-finite, synthetic or periphrastic), so that a converb by itself is one token, a converb followed by an auxiliary (periphrastic form) is also one token, etc. From my texts I analysed the distribution of 299 tokens, and from the other corpus the distribution of 1525 tokens from the following texts: text 1 "A legend of lovers", text 2 "A rich man and three brothers" (variant 1), text 4 "Pari Khanum (variant 1)", text 6 "Stepdaughter and stepmother" (variant 1), text 8 "A beggar", text 9 "Three brothers".

I realise that this is a very small count, but it covers forty years and represents different genres: stories about the distant past, anecdotes about recent times (such as a recent hunting experience undergone by the speaker), and dialogues. My texts are mainly narrated in the first person (the speaker talks about himself and his friend), while those texts of KIBRIK's which I used are narrated in the third person.

Findings for the 299 tokens found in my texts:

- the majority of forms are based on the perfective stem: 132 as against 38 imperfective-based forms;
- a large number of forms are merely the perfective stem without marking: 47;
- there are 20 infinitives and 2 infinitive-based forms (converbs in *-kut*);
- there are 15 future forms (potential stem without marking) and 5 potential-based forms (3 converbs and 2 participles);
- there are 10 imperatives and one imperative-based form (converb in *-lli*);
- there are 8 imperfective stems without marking;
- there are 21 forms of the verb 'be';
- there are no masdars.

Findings for the 1525 tokens found in KIBRIK's texts:

- the majority of forms are based on the perfective stem: 981 as against 69 imperfective-based forms;
- there are not that many forms of the perfective and imperfective without any other marking: 92 perfectives and 33 imperfectives. This is probably due to the fact that these are stories about the past, and hence verb forms are often marked by the evidential: there were 690 evidential forms (these are based on the perfective stem and make up part of the set of 981 forms above);
- there are 94 infinitives and 10 infinitive-based forms (one participle and converbs in *-kan* and *-kut*);
- there are 70 future forms (potential stem without marking) and 24 forms based on this stem (converbs and participles);
- there are 62 imperatives and 10 imperative-based forms (converb in *-lli*);
- there are 4 masdars;
- there are 76 forms of the verb 'be'.

We can see that the evidence of token frequency leaves the Archi verb system looking less complex: the vast majority of forms are based on the perfective, morphologically the simplest of all stems (it has the smallest amount of morphological material). The majority of the perfective-based forms are evidentials, which are formed by adding the suffix *-li* to the perfective stem. This suffix can also attach to the periphrastic forms. However, in the numbers given above there are 678 synthetic evidentials against 12 periphrastic ones.

I included reportatives in the count, depending on what form they were attached to. There are many more reportatives in my own texts: 28 (9.3% of all forms), whereas in KIBRIK's texts there are only 7 reportatives (0.46%). Recall that the existence of reportatives doubles the size of the Archi verbal paradigm as presented in the grammar.

It is interesting to note that there are relatively few periphrastic forms: 28 in my texts (9.3%) and 81 in KIBRIK's (5.3%). I believe that this is an additional argument in favour of reconsidering the idea that tense in Archi is only expressed periphrastically. If one believes that tense in Archi is a grammatical category that must be expressed obligatorily in every sentence, then we have to reconcile this with the fact that the majority of sentences in KIBRIK's texts are headed by (synthetic) evidentials. I believe that the evidential must be counted as a special tense (narrative past) rather than a mood. There is, of course, the possibility that stories about the past are told in a non-indicative mood, but there are also 58 evidential forms in my texts (19.3%), and in those texts speakers are talking about their own experience of the recent past.

6. Conclusions

The Archi verb system shows a rare degree of complexity: the verb has a very large paradigm which is partly fusional, partly agglutinating, and partly periphrastic.

There are 30 conjugation types defined by seven principal parts (compare this with another fusional language, Latin, where the verb has four principal parts), plus some irregular verbs with eight principal parts and some suppletion.

There are, however, several factors that make this system usable and learnable.

Firstly, the nature of Archi inflectional categories: many of them are syntactic rather than morphological, and are formed by transcategorial affixes that demonstrate no phonological merger with the stem and show no irregularities in their behaviour. These can attach to whole syntactic phrases such as periphrastic tense forms. Whether they should be called clitics is an open question: it is true that they demonstrate promiscuous behaviour, but when they attach to nouns they form syntactic relationships with them, unlike, say, Romance clitics, which can move within the clause but are still syntactically related to the verb.

Secondly, the division of the system into simple and complex verbs simplifies it dramatically. All the irregularities are associated with the simple verbs, which form a small group with a restricted number of members (170). Complex verbs, on the other hand, form an open class with a growing number of members, but their inflection is merely a subset of the inflection of the simple verbs.

Finally, the number of frequently used forms is not too high. The perfective stem, which is in some sense the base form of the Archi verb, is used much more often than any other stem, and its use does not depend on genre: both in KIBRIK's texts, which contain stories about the past, and in my texts, which contain dialogues, the frequency of perfective usage was higher than that of the imperfective or the other two stems. Simply from hearing everyday speech in an Archi village I have gained the impression that the perfective and perfective-based converbs are used much more often than the other forms.

Overall, it seems that a rich and complex morphological system needs to be counterbalanced by other factors to be operable.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	persons	IPF	imperfective aspect
I, II, III, IV	genders	LAT	lative, directional case (‘towards’)
ABS	absolutive case	MSD	masdar
ATR	attributive	NEG	negative
COP	copula	NPL	nonhuman plural
CVB	converb	OBL	oblique stem
DAT	dative case	PF	perfective aspect
DEB	debitive mood	PL	plural number
DUBIT	dubitative mood	POT	potential aspect
ERG	ergative case	PRS	present tense
EVID	(non)evidential	PST	past tense
HPL	human plural	QUOT	quotative
IMP	imperative	SUPER	super, localisation (‘on’)
INF	infinitive	SG	singular number

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TIMUR MAISAK (Moscow)

The Present and the Future within the Lezgic tense and aspect systems*

Abstract

This paper discusses those finite verb forms found in the Lezgic languages whose main function is to express present or future time reference. As a rule, such forms are built on imperfective non-finite forms and include a present copula. The following source patterns which usually give rise to Presents and Futures in these languages are analysed in detail: the Infinitive Pattern ("Infinitive + Copula"), the Locative Pattern ("Imperfective Converb + Locative Copula"), the Imperfective Converb Pattern ("Imperfective Converb + Copula"), and the Participle Pattern ("Imperfective Participle + Copula"). The grammaticalization paths of these patterns have much in common, in particular the semantic development from 'present' to 'future'.

0. Introduction

The tense and aspect systems of languages belonging to the Lezgic group of the Nakh-Daghestanian (East Caucasian) family share the following important features – some of which are certainly not restricted to this particular group, but can be viewed as defining the typological profile of the family as a whole:

- most finite indicative verb forms are **analytic**, at least historically, and have a more or less transparent structure: although at the present stage they can be rather tight in morphological terms (and, strictly speaking, synthetic), their original periphrastic structure very often remains evident;
- such analytic forms are most often made up of one of three independently existing **non-finite forms** (participle, converb and infinitive) together with a **copula** (a defective stative verb meaning 'be, exist' or 'be inside');

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- non-finite forms (at least participles and converbs) are regularly marked for either **perfective** or **imperfective aspect**, and as a rule are derived from the corresponding verb stems: these thus give rise to what may be called the "perfective" and "imperfective" subsystems within the tense and aspect system;
- as the copula may appear in the **present** or in the **past** form, there also exist "present" and "past" subsystems, which are independent of the perfective vs. imperfective opposition.

Note that while forms in the perfective domain almost always describe situations with past time reference (the most typical examples being preterites, perfects and resultatives), forms belonging to the imperfective domain may describe situations located in the past or the non-past. The time reference of such forms depends on the tense of the copula: forms with the present copula (or lacking the copula altogether) are presents or habituals, and forms with the past copula are imperfects or past habituals, etc. It is important to note that forms with future time reference can be found only in the imperfective domain, and some languages do not even possess specialized future tenses, future time reference being expressed instead by a polysemous imperfective form (e.g. the habitual/future). On the other hand, in some languages futures constitute a separate subsystem and do not belong to the morphological domain of the imperfective or the perfective forms – this may happen, for example, if the future is based on a non-finite form derived from a special stem (e.g. the infinitive).

In this paper I will discuss those verb forms found in the Lezgic languages whose main function is to express **present** or **future time reference**. As a rule, such forms are found at the intersection of the imperfective subsystem and the non-past subsystem, i.e. they are built on imperfective non-finite forms and (normally) include a present copula; the range of these forms can be extended by means of constructions involving infinitives. A typical Lezgic tense and aspect system would include a generalized Present[1] (expressing a wide range of imperfective meanings) and a Habitual; a dedicated Future can be also found fairly often. Alongside these, there may be a place for a dedicated Present Progressive or Present Continuous, additional variations on Habituals/Generics, or additional modal Futures.

In the following I will restrict myself to those forms whose inner structure is transparent, or can at least be determined with some certainty on the basis of intra-group comparison. In particular, I will focus on the most widespread **source patterns** which give rise to Present and Future forms. These patterns are listed below, and each of them will be considered in detail in sections 2 to 5, with their instantiations in particular languages:

[1] In this paper, I follow the convention of using capital letters to refer to language-specific grammatical categories, while categories in the universal sense are designated by lower case.

- "Infinitive + (Nominal) Copula", or the *Infinitive Pattern*,
- "Imperfective Converb + Locative Copula", or the *Locative Pattern*,
- "Imperfective Converb + (Nominal) Copula", or the *Imperfective Converb Pattern*,
- "Imperfective Participle + (Nominal) Copula", or the *Participle Pattern*.

These patterns cover the majority of tenses expressing present and future time reference in Lezgic languages (tenses with a different or unknown origin are quite rare). Thus the study of these patterns makes it possible to determine the major paths of the grammaticalization of presents and futures in these languages. I will take into account data from all nine languages comprising the Lezgic group, namely Lezgian, Tabassaran, Agul, Tsakhur, Rutul, Kryz, Budugh, Archi and Udi, together with the most important dialectal varieties (note that some Tabassaran, Agul, and Rutul dialects are so diverse that mutual intelligibility within a single language can be problematic). These data are taken from published grammatical descriptions for these languages, as well as from my own fieldwork on Agul, Tsakhur and Udi. The least comprehensive data are available for Budugh, and it will probably be underrepresented in this paper; however, some important information about the Budugh tense and aspect system can be also drawn from (AUTHIER, this volume). For an overview of the verb system of Archi, see also (CHUMAKINA, this volume).

1. Component parts of the patterns

Before I turn to an overview of the patterns attested, I would like to introduce the necessary terminology used for the component parts of these patterns, i.e. for non-finite categories and types of copulas.

1.1. Non-finite categories

There are three non-finite categories which normally appear in the analytic verb forms of the Lezgic languages.

With the term **Infinitive** (also called the "purposive form" or "supine" in grammars) I refer to a form heading purpose clauses, as in (1) from Agul or (2) from Tsakhur with motion verbs:

(1) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Text, 2005)
...χalanžer-il-di *quš-u-ne* *zun* *χup:-ur* ***uc-as.***
Khalandzhar-SUPER-LAT go.back-PF-PFCT 1SG [field-PL **mow-INF**]
'{And then} I went again to Khalandzhar **to mow** the field.'

(2) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 504][2]
ičiː *haˇrˇkʼɨn-na* ***hiweːgʷ-as.***
girl.II II.go.away.PF-ATR [**II.walk-POT**]
'The girl went **for a walk**.'

Lezgic Infinitives are also often used in the complement clauses of modal and phasal verbs ('begin', 'want', 'be able', and others). Sometimes the range of functions of Infinitives in the Lezgic languages is regarded to be too wide to be subsumed under some typologically consistent "infinitive prototype" (cf. ILJEVSKAJA & KALININA 2002); however, I have decided to retain this term as it occurs frequently in grammars.[3]

The second non-finite category is the **Imperfective Converb**, i.e. a form heading adverbial clauses and expressing a simultaneous situation, manner or circumstance, cf. (3) from Archi and (4) from Agul:

(3) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 248]
χitːa *qʼoˇwˇdi-li* *eˇwˇdi-li* *jo-w* *lo,*
then I.sit.down.PF-CVB I.COP.PST-EVID this-I child.I
čʼut ***daˇbˇχir-ši***
[jug.III **III.beat.IPF-CVB**]
'And then this boy was sitting, **rocking** the jug.'

(4) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
gada *kitab* ***ruχ-a-j*** *qadark-u-naa.*
boy [book **read-IPF-CVB**] lie.down-PF-RES.PRS
'The boy is lying down, **reading** a book.'

As a rule, Imperfective Converbs in Lezgic languages are derived from the Imperfective verb stem by means of a special converbial affix, which is not usually identical to the affix used with the Perfective Converb. Archi and Agul are examples of this situation, as the Imperfective Converb markers in these languages are *-ši* and *-j* (< **-di*) respectively, while the Perfective Converb markers are *-li* and *-na*.

Finally, the **Imperfective Participle**, also derived regularly from the Imperfective verb stem, is a form heading relative clauses and expressing a quality (actual or permanent), cf. (5) from Rutul and (6) from Agul:

[2] In examples taken from published sources the transcription has been slightly modified for reasons of consistency. If glosses were provided in the original, they have also been made consistent and simplified in some respects, which are not relevant for the present discussion.

[3] Note, for example, that even given the wide range of functions performed by the Tsakhur Potentialis vis-a-vis the "infinitive prototype" (e.g. it can have its own subject and does not occur with phasal verbs), E. A. LJUTIKOVA and A. A. BONCH-OSMOLOVSKAJA claim that "the confrontation of Potentialis with the infinitive is typologically justifiable"; cf. (KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 504).

(5) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 154]
zer ***w-ez-e-d*** *žɨgaa*
[cow.III **III-milk-IPF-ATR**] place
'a place where cows **are (usually) milked'**

(6) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
dad-a *jak:* *jarħ-a* *jak'ʷ*
[father-ERG meat **beat-IPF**] axe
'the axe **with which** father **chops** meat'

It is important to mention that the difference between finite and non-finite verb forms may be blurred in the East Caucasian languages, and sometimes a non-finite form can also be used as the head of a clause[4]. Thus, while the majority of indicative tense and aspect forms represent combinations of a non-finite form and a copula, in some cases such an analysis is problematic; cf. below, the discussion of certain Tsakhur and Kryz synthetic tenses which happen to be completely identical to non-finite forms (i.e. they lack a copula).

1.2. Copulas

Three types of copulas can be distinguished which appear as auxiliary verbs in the patterns under discussion here. In fact, copulas are the most prevalent type of auxiliary verb in the analytic forms of the Lezgic languages; apart from them only the regular verb 'be, become' is widely used, with some other auxiliaries being restricted to certain periphrases (such as the continuative with the verb 'stay, remain' in Lezgian or Agul) or special syntactic constructions (e.g. periphrastic causatives with the verbs 'do, make' or 'give'). I will not treat analytic forms with the auxiliary 'be, become' here, as they seldom enter the core of the tense and aspect system; moreover, they are morphologically secondary because this auxiliary itself normally occurs in one of the "primary" analytic forms employing the copula.

As regards the copulas themselves, they are morphologically defective in the sense of having a reduced verbal paradigm – finite forms of copulas are normally just two in number, namely present and past.

I will call the first type of copula a **Nominal Copula**, following the use of this term by STASSEN (2005), among others. This is the prototypical copula used for characterization, identification, and taxonomy, as illustrated in the following examples from Kryz, Rutul and Agul:

[4] For details, see (KALININA & SUMBATOVA 2007), and also chapter two of (KALININA 2001).

(7) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 203]
zin *q'arvand=**e***[5].
1SG shepherd=**COP.M**
'I **am** a shepherd.'

(8) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 187]
žijran *žag^{w}ar* ***w-iʔi.***
fallow.deer.III white **III-COP**
'The fallow-deer **is** white.'

(9) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
me-wur *ze* *ruš-ar* ***e***
this-PL my daughter-PL **COP**
'These **are** my daughters.'

While all other Lezgic languages display what have been called "verbal" copula constructions (CURNOW 2000), Udi is unique within this group in possessing an "inflectional" copula construction – that is, the role of Nominal Copula is played by personal agreement markers[6], cf.:

(10) Udi, Nizh dialect [KECHAARI 1996: 5]
šeir *te=**zu**..* *alim=**zu***
poet NEG=**1SG** teacher=**1SG**
'**I am** not a poet. **I am** a teacher.'

(11) Udi, Nizh dialect [AYDINOV & KEÇAARI 1996: 13]
me *elem* *zom* *elem=**e***
this donkey trained donkey=**3SG**
'This donkey **is** a trained one.'

Another type of copula, which I will call a **Locative Copula**, is in fact a locational stative verb (also defective) meaning 'be inside'; following the descriptive tradition I would like to retain the term 'copula' for this type of verb as well. The use of the Lezgic Locative Copulas is exemplified below with sentences from Agul, Kryz and Rutul. Note that outside locative clauses as such, Locative Copulas can be also found in possessive clauses, as in (14b):

(12) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
berħem *sunduq'i-ʔ* ***a-a***
dress box-IN **be.in-PRS**
'The dress **is in** the box.'

[5] The equals sign "=" is used to separate clitics.
[6] For a very detailed account of the Udi personal markers, including diachronic issues, see (HARRIS 2002). Note also that in Udi there is a "verbal" copula *bu* that tends to occur in locative and possessive clauses, though it is not used as an auxiliary.

(13) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 118]
aru-ž *kut-ula* *sasila* *tike* *jit* ***ʕaža.***
bee-GEN basket-IN a.little piece honey **be.in.PRS**
'**There is** a small quantity of honey in the hive.'

(14a) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 208]
ja *vɨ,* *ja* *zɨ* *χal-a* ***ʔa-diš-ij.***
or 2SG or 1SG house-IN **be.in-NEG-PST**
'Neither you nor I **was** at home.'

(14b) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 80]
za-χda *waχt* ***ʔa-diš.***
1SG-POST time **be.in-NEG.PRS**
'I **don't have** time.'

A number of Lezgic languages possess several locational stative verbs, which each make use of a different locative preverb: e.g. Lezgian *aw-a* 'exist, be inside', *al-a* 'be on', *gal-a* 'be behind', *gw-a* 'be near', *kw-a* 'be under or in contact with', or Kryz *ʕa-ža* 'be inside (a container)', *ča-ža* 'be inside (a mass)', *ke-ža* 'be under or in front of', *ʁi-ža* 'be on', *va-ža* 'be in close contact', *su-ža* 'be there, exist'. Of all these, only the verb meaning 'be inside' will be considered below, as it is the only representative of its class used as an auxiliary.

From the historical point of view, the distinction between the Nominal Copula (**i*) and the Locative Copula (**a*) probably goes back to the Proto-Lezgic stage, cf. (ALEKSEEV 1985: 97–98; NIKOLAYEV & STAROSTIN 1994: 252) for discussion. However, at the synchronic level some of the Lezgic languages do not have the opposition between the Nominal and the Locative Copula and thus one and the same element is used in both types of contexts. Such situation is characteristic of Archi, Tsakhur and Budugh, which can be said to possess **General Copulas**.

In Archi this copula is *w-i*, *b-i* etc. with class prefixes. This is obviously related to the Nominal Copulas of the languages seen above; either the Locative Copula has never existed in Archi, or it has been lost:

(15) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 244]
adam *inžit* *ar-t:u* *bošor* ***w-i*** *to-w.*
[person worry do.IPF-PTCP man.I] **I-COP** that-I
'He **is** a man who bothers other people.'

(16) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 160]
uxurčaj *marx:äla* ***b-i.***
field.PL.IN snow.III **III-COP**
'There **is** snow on the fields.'

In Tsakhur the General copula is *wo-* (with suffixal class markers), which is probably a reflection of the same Proto-Lezgic **i* [7], although the possibility cannot be totally excluded that it is an innovative copula:

(17) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 434]
jaˁq *jug-ba* ***wo-b***
road.III good-ADV.III **COP-III**
'The road **is** good.'

(18) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 125]
χoče *ɢaje-jkʲ* *awu-b* ***wo-b-na.***
snake.III stone-SUB under-III **COP-III-**ATR
'The snake **is** under the stone.'

In Budugh, the copula is an invariable *vi* (or *i* after consonants in unstressed position), and its use is quite similar (ALEKSEEV 1994a: 283–284).

The data on Lezgic copulas are summarized in Table 1.

Language	Copula type	Examples (present tense, affirmative)
Agul (Huppuq' dialect)	Nominal Copula	*e*
Agul (Huppuq' dialect)	Locative Copula	*a* \|\| *aa* \|\| *aja* ('inside' localization)
Budugh	General Copula	*vi* \|\| *i*
Archi	General Copula	*w-i, b-i,* etc. (with class prefixes)
Kryz (Alik dialect)	Nominal Copula	*-ja* \|\| *-e, -ju, -ja-b* \|\| *-e-b* (with class marking)[8]
Kryz (Alik dialect)	Locative Copula	*ʃaža* ('inside' localization)
Lezgian	Nominal Copula	*ja*
Lezgian	Locative Copula	*awa* ('inside' localization)
Rutul (Mukhad dialect)	Nominal Copula	*w-iʔi, j-iʔi,* etc. (with class prefixes)
Rutul (Mukhad dialect)	Locative Copula	*ʔa* ('inside' localization)
Tabassaran (Southern dialect)	Nominal Copula	*wu*
Tabassaran (Southern dialect)	Locative Copula	*a*
Tsakhur (Mishlesh dialect)	General Copula	*wo-r, wo-b, wo-d,* etc. (with class suffixes)
Udi	Nominal Copula	*=zu* (1SG), *=nu* (2SG), *=ne* \|\| *=e* (3SG), etc. (enclitic person markers)
Udi	Locative Copula	*bu*

Table 1: Copulas in the Lezgic languages

[7] Cf. Nominal Copulas *wu* || *wuʔu* in Tabassaran and *wu* in the Qushan dialect of Agul, or *vi* in Budugh and *bu* in Udi; this initial *w-* || *b-* may be a lexicalized ("petrified") prefix for the neutral class. As for the Locative Copula with the form **a*, it is not impossible that in Tsakhur this has become lexicalized as the postposition *a-d* 'inside' (with a suffixal class marker), cf. *χa: a-d* 'in the house'.

[8] The Nominal Copula in Kryz is atonic; according to (AUTHIER 2009), in existential contexts the stressed variant of this copula is used (namely, *jaʃ, jaʃu, jaʃa-b*).

2. The Infinitive (Purposive) Pattern

The first pattern I would like to discuss consists of the Infinitive (or "Purposive") form of the verb together with a copula; I will also refer to this as the Infinitive Pattern for short. It is a good pattern with which to begin this overview, as its semantic development is rather straightforward: there is basically one major path of development seen in the Lezgic languages, leading to the obligation or intention meaning first, and finally to the future meaning.

Both Nominal Copulas and General Copulas can appear in this pattern, whereas Locative Copulas as such are not attested. As for the form of the main verb, in four languages – namely Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, and Archi – the Infinitives have the suffix *-s* and go back to the Proto-Lezgic Infinitive, whose marker is very likely the Proto-Lezgic Dative case suffix **-s* (see SCHULZE 1982: 185, 250; ALEKSEEV 1985: 100 for discussion). In other Lezgic languages – Lezgian, Kryz and Tabassaran – Infinitives in *-s* also exist, although they are not used in any tense and aspect constructions (on a special case observed in Udi, see below)[9].

The initial stage of the evolution of the Infinitive pattern can be illustrated by Archi, where the relevant construction (called "Debitive" in the grammatical description) has deontic meaning – 'have to do, need to do'; it is also reported that this form is "comparatively rare" (KIBRIK 1977: 206–207). In all the examples given in the Archi grammar the main participant of the situation is human, cf.:

(19) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 206]
zon *duχˁat:-ak* ***d-eqˁe-s*** ***d-i***
1SG mill-LAT **II-go-INF** **II-COP**
'I (woman) **need to go** to the mill.'

(20) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 206]
un *lagum* ***χabu-s*** ***i***
2SG song.IV **IV.sing-INF** **I.COP**
'You (man) **have to sing a song**.'

The meaning of one corresponding construction in Tsakhur is wider, as it can denote both obligation ('has to do') and intention ('is going to do') on the part of the participant; thus, examples like (21) are ambiguous:

(21) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 269]
dak:-e: *žiga* ***ez-as=o-d***
father-ERG field.IV **IV.plough-POT=COP-IV**
'Father **is going to plough** || **has to plough** the field.'

[9] In Lezgian, the form in *-z* going back to the Proto-Lezgic Dative is not only the Infinitive, but also the Imperfective Converb, and will be treated in section 2.

As in Archi, this construction is rather peripheral in Tsakhur. However, there is another Tsakhur form instantiating the Infinitive pattern, which is the main Future form of the language (called "Potentialis" in the grammar by A. E. KIBRIK et al.). It is identical with the Infinitive, also called "Potentialis", and does not make use of a copula. Unlike the copular form, the main Future has a more neutral meaning, which, at the same time, is centred around the intentional ('is going to do') or prospective ('is about to happen') domain: for example, it can express typical intentional and scheduled futures (especially with 1st person subjects as in (22) and (23)), and it is also possible in prospective contexts like (24), where the situation is viewed as imminent:[10]

(22) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 255, 778]
zɬ *wa-s* *meχʷ* ***ha:ʔ-as*** *aˤli:* *maˤʔallim-ni*
1SG.ERG 2SG-DAT tale.III **III.do-POT** Ali teacher-ATR
χizan-ni *haˤk'eː.*
family-ATR about
'I **will tell** you a story about the family of Ali the teacher.'

(23) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 252]
ɢi:qa *ši* ***išlemiš-ɛ‹b›x-es*** ***deš.***
tomorrow we **work-HPL.become-POT** **COP.NEG**
'{According to our contract,} We **do not work** tomorrow.'

(24) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 251]
gʲoʁi: ***gʲoʁ-as.***
rain.IV **IV.fall-POT**
'{There are dark clouds on the horizon, so it seems} **It is going to rain**.'

The situation in Rutul is parallel to that found in Tsakhur, as here also the Infinitive pattern underlies the main Future form of the language. The only difference is that (at least in some dialects of Rutul) there is an overt Nominal Copula in this construction, while in others the Future is simply identical to the Infinitive:

(25) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 142]
wa *la‹ž›aʔa-naqun,* *za* ***laʔa-s-i.***
2SG.ERG NEG.put.on-COND 1SG.ERG **put.on-INF-COP**
'If you won't put it on, I **will put** it **on**.'

[10] There is another variant of the Future form, the so-called "attributive Potentialis", which is more inclined towards hypothetical and predictive semantics; see (KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 253–255) for the discussion of the semantic nuances associated with the two variants of the Future. The opposition between "attributive" and "non-attributive" forms covers all the core tense and aspect forms in Tsakhur and is based on the presence vs. absence of the attributive marker, whose presence makes the corresponding form identical to a participle.

(26) Rutul, Luchek dialect [ALEKSEEV 1994b: 233]
iz-dɨ *šu* *jiq'as-di* *armij* ***girga-s.***
my-ATR brother next.year army.IN **take-INF**
'My brother **will be taken** into the army next year.'

Note that even though the Future form in Rutul can appear morphologically identical to the Infinitive in affirmative contexts, the two are clearly distinguished under negation. In the Lezgic languages non-finite forms, including Infinitives, normally take prefixal (or infixal) negation[11], whereas Futures, like other finite forms, use negative copulas, cf. (27). This may show that the original structure of the Future form is in fact "infinitive + copula" and not a bare infinitive; the absence of a copula may be explained by its phonological loss (natural for an enclitic element) or other considerations. The case of the Tsakhur Future is more problematic, as it can have both a periphrastic negative equivalent, as in (23) with the negative copula *deš*, and a morphological negative equivalent, as non-finite forms do. Cf. (28a), where negation is prefixed to the Infinitive of the light verb *ixes* 'be, become' (which heads the complement of the modal verb 'need, must') and (28b) where the finite Future is marked with a negative prefix. This may show that the analysis of the Tsakhur Future as a former periphrastic form with a copula is disputable, and it may in fact have originated as a bare infinitive used as the head of a finite clause.

(27) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 207]
za *ja* ***lešu-s-i,*** *ja* ***lešu-s-diš.***
1SG.ERG or **take-INF-COP** or **take-INF-COP.NEG**
'Either I **shall buy** it, or I **shall not buy** it.'

(28a) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 825]
ma-ni *jed-a:ši-l-qa* *ge:-b*
this-ATR woman-PL-SUPER-ALL much-HPL
inʲammiš-d-e‹w›x-es *w-uk:an.*
believe-NEG-HPL.become-POT HPL-need.IPF
'One should not **trust** these women at all'.

(28b) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 806]
za-l-e *guž-na-ba* *balkan* *hoʔo:k-a-na*
1SG-SUPER-EL force-ATR-ADV.III horse.III III.drive-IPF-ATR
insan ***d-ex-es.***
man.I **NEG-I.become-POT**
'{In our region} There will be no one who rides a horse better than me.'

[11] Cf. negative prefixes/infixes in conditional converbs in (25) from Rutul and (62) from Lezgian.

Returning to instances of the Infinitive pattern, in Agul we find another case where the main Future form, with a very general meaning, is built on the Infinitive (with the enclitic Nominal Copula always overtly present), cf.:

(29) Agul, Burshag dialect (Text, 2006)
When the shepherd decided to kill the snake, the latter said:
jawaš, p-u-naw, zun wa-s üžwaˁl ***q'-as-u***
wait say-PF-PFCT 1SG 2SG-DAT good **do-INF-COP**
'Hold on, it said, I **will do** you a good thing.'

(30) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
zun aħa x-u-guna, aħa χal ***ʁuš-as-e***
1SG big become-PF-when big house **take-INF-COP**
'{A little boy says:} When I grow up, I **will buy** a big house.'

Besides the (Proto-Lezgic) Infinitives in *-s*, one can find a similar pattern with other verb forms expressing purposive meaning. Thus, in Lezgian there exists a peripheral "Periphrastic Future", which includes a Purpose Converb in *-dajwal* (where *-daj* is a Future participle[12] and *-wal* is a nominalizer used productively with participles and adjectives), and the Nominal Copula. The Purpose Converb itself is one of the main means of expressing purpose, and it is normally used in clauses having a subject of their own (e.g. 'Read aloud, so that I may hear it') (HASPELMATH 1993: 392). The Periphrastic Future built on this form has a clear intentional/prospective meaning, cf.:

(31) Lezgian [HASPELMATH 1993: 147]
ada i daʁ-lar-iz c'iji ümür
that.ERG this mountain-PL-DAT new life
ʁi-da-j-wal ja.
bring-FUT-PTCP-NMLZ COP
'He **is going to bring** a new life into these mountains.'

(32) Lezgian [HASPELMATH 1993: 147]
i muq'ʷara či k'ʷal-in q:aw-uz raq'
this soon our house-GEN roof-DAT iron
č'ugwa-da-j-wal ja.
pull-FUT-PTCP-NMLZ COP
'Our house's roof is soon **going to be covered** with iron.'

Like the similar deontic/intentional/prospective forms in Archi and Tsakhur, the Lezgian Periphrastic Future is peripheral within the tense and aspect system. On the whole, we can assume that constructions based on the Infinitive pattern originally emerge as specific means of expressing deontic or intentional meaning, and this development is clearly based on the existence of a purposive semantic component: 'X has a purpose to do P' > 'X should/intends to do P'. Later on these forms undergo semantic generaliza-

[12] On the Lezgian Future/Habitual form in *-da* see section 4 below.

tion, and become common means of expressing future time reference (as happened in Agul and Rutul): 'X should/intends to do P' > 'X will do P'. The main Future in Tsakhur without a copula also illustrates this latter possibility of moving into the core of the tense and aspect system.

The development of future tenses from grammatical forms expressing obligation, predestination and (at the next stage) intention is widespread cross-linguistically; cf. the discussion of some typological data in (BYBEE et al. 1994: 258–264). Parallel cases of the use of the Infinitive pattern can be found in other East Caucasian languages as well: for example, in Avar the combination of the Infinitive and the present copula has deontic and prospective meaning, cf. *do-w* ***w-ač'-ine w-ugo*** [that-M M-come-INF M-COP] 'he has to / is going to come' (MALLAEVA 1998: 123). In a number of Tsezic languages similar forms based on Infinitives are obligative or prospective Futures and coexist with more neutral synthetic future forms: cf. "Planned Future" in Tsez or "Preparative" in Bezhta (ALEKSEEV & RADZHABOV 2004: 140-142; KIBRIK & TESTELETS 2004: 257).

As I have already noted, in about half of the Lezgic languages – namely Tabassaran, Kryz, Budugh and Udi – there are no (known) instances of the Infinitive pattern leading to obligation meaning or beyond that to future meaning.[13] Given this fact, together with the general typological prevalence of the semantic development "purposive > obligation / intention > future", it can be claimed that the Infinitive pattern cannot be traced back to the Proto-Lezgic stage. The existing cases are reasonably independent at the Lezgic group level, although common origin is quite probable at the subgroup level (e.g. in the Tsakhur-Rutul branch).

The data for the Infinitive pattern in the Lezgic languages are summarized in Table 2.

Language	Meaning label	Main verb form	Copula type	Example
Agul	Future	Infinitive	Nominal Copula	*aq'as-e* 'will do' (< *aq'a-s + e*)
Archi	Deontic ("Debitive")	Infinitive	General Copula	*deqˢes wi* 'has to go' (< *deqˢe-s + w-i*)
Lezgian	Prospective ("Periphrastic Future")	Purpose converb (based on a Future participle)	Nominal Copula	*q:aču-dajwal ja* 'is going to take' (< *q:aču-dajwal + ja*)
Rutul	Future	Infinitive	Nominal Copula	*kixis(-i)* 'will write' (< *kixi-s + i*)
Tsakhur	Prospective/ Deontic	Infinitive	General Copula	*a:qas=o-d* 'will open' (*a:qas + wo-d*)
Tsakhur	Future ("Potentialis")	Infinitive	(no copula)	*a:qas* 'will open' (= Infinitive)

Table 2: The Infinitive Pattern in the Lezgic languages

[13] For another semantically related pattern in Kryz and Budugh, see AUTHIER, this volume).

3. The Locative Pattern

While the Infinitive pattern serves as one of the main sources for future tenses in the Lezgic languages, the pattern including the Imperfective Converb and the Locative Copula (hence the 'Locative pattern') is one of the main sources for present tenses. And just as in the case of the Infinitive pattern the future meaning is not the first stage of semantic development, likewise in the case of the "Imperfective Converb + Locative Copula" pattern the general present meaning is preceded by a more restricted aspectual notion of progressive or continuous.

The first stages of the evolution of forms built on the Locative pattern can probably be illustrated with data from Kryz. Along with the main Present form (to be discussed later in section 4), there is a peripheral Progressive construction, or "progressif constatif", referring to ongoing dynamic situations:

(33) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 276]
ik-re ki sa-b buʔu ažda-ha ***ʕašxva-ra***
look-PRS PTCL one-F large dragon.F **F.arrive-MANNER**
ʕažu
be.in.PRS.F
'He sees that a big dragon **is approaching** (him).'

Note that the manner converb in Kryz (also in Budugh) is historically formed by means of the Inessive marker *-a(ʕ)*, which is typologically not unusual (for example, cf. French *en faisant*, lit. 'in doing'); for details, see (AUTHIER 2010). Thus, the locative component 'be inside' is marked in the Progressive construction twice – both in the converb and in the Locative Copula, which contains the Inessive preverb *ʕa-*.

The Locative pattern is present in most other Lezgic languages which possess a specialized Locative Copula, namely in all three languages of the East Lezgic branch and in Rutul. In all these cases the Locative pattern gives rise to the main Present form, which bears a very general meaning (progressive/continuous/habitual), cf. the following examples:

(34) Lezgian [TALIBOV 1966: 574]
za fabrika-da, zi juldaš-di zawod-da
1SG.ERG factory-IN my friend-ERG plant-IN
kʷalaχ-z-awa
work-CVB.IPF-LOCCOP
'I (work) at a factory, my friend **works** at a plant.'

(35) Tabassaran, Southern dialect [MAGOMETOV 1965: 355]
ja malla-nasrüdin, haz qʼʕäläq ***liyur-a****?*
VOC Mullah-Nasreddin why back **look.IPF.CVB-LOCCOP**
'Hey, Mullah Nasreddin, why **are** you **looking** back?'

(36) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
haraj-ar *m-aq'-a,* *ruš-a* *dars-ar*
shout-PL PROH-do-PROH girl-ERG lesson-PL
aq'-a-j-a
do-IPF-CVB-LOCCOP
'Don't shout, the girl **is doing** her lessons.'

(37) Rutul, Luchek dialect [ALEKSEEV 1994b: 232]
huʁʷal ***kir?e-r*** ***a***
rain **begin.IPF-CVB** **LOCCOP**
'The rain **is starting**.'

In Archi and in Tsakhur there are no special Locative Copulas (forms with the Imperfective Converb and the General Copula in these languages will be discussed later), and in Udi the locative/possessive copula *bu* is not used in any tense or aspect constructions. Note also that the converb markers used in the Locative pattern (as illustrated above) need not be etymological equivalents in those languages which do possess it. Although it is not impossible that the Agul Imperfective Converb marker *-j* || *-ri* || *-di* (morphological and dialectal variants) is historically identical to the Tabassaran *-ri* and the Rutul *-r* || *-ra* || *-re*, the Lezgian suffix *-z* clearly has another etymology. In Lezgian the Imperfective Converb is identical to the Infinitive, and their common marker *-z* goes back to the Proto-Lezgic Dative case. It is very likely that the imperfective (or "simultaneous") converb use has developed on the basis of the temporal meaning of the Dative ('at the time of V-ing'), which we also see in nominal forms like *jif-iz* 'at night', *gat-uz* 'in the summer', *alataj jis-uz* 'last year', etc. (HASPELMATH 1993: 89–90, 209)[14]. So again it is not necessary, and not even possible, to trace the Locative model as such back to the Proto-Lezgic stage.

Once again, from a typological point of view the development of locative constructions into progressives and later into general imperfectives is very common. Such constructions originally emphasize the location of a participant "in the midst" of an activity ('X is in V-ing'), the locative notion itself being expressed either by an auxiliary verb such as 'be in', 'stay', 'sit' or 'live', or by the use of adpositions like 'in', 'at' or 'on' (as an example of the latter strategy, cf. Dutch *Ik ben* ***aan het gaan*** 'I am going', lit. "I am **at the going**") (HEINE et al. 1991: 36). In some languages "double" locative marking both on the main verb and on the auxiliary is possible, as we have seen in Kryz. For details, see also the lexicon of grammaticalization paths (HEINE & KUTEVA 2002), where such developments as "IN (SPATIAL) > CONTINUOUS", "LOCATIVE > CONTINUOUS", "LOCATIVE COPULA > CONTINUOUS" are considered in a large

[14] The same case ending underlies the Kryz simultaneity converb ("converbe simultané") in *-ǯiz*, cf. (AUTHIER 2009: 137).

number of the world's languages. Various types of locative expressions are also discussed among the main historical sources for progressives in (BYBEE et al. 1994: 127–137).

In this regard, nothing could prevent individual Lezgic languages from independently innovating progressives and presents on the basis of the Locative pattern (though again, on a group level, e.g. for Agul and Tabassaran, a common historical origin is probable).

The data for the Locative pattern in the Lezgic languages are summarized in Table 3.

Language	Meaning label	Main verb form	Copula type	Example
Agul	Present (general)	Imperfective Converb	Locative Copula	*aq'aj-a* 'is doing, does' (< *aq'a-j + a* \|\| *aja*)
Kryz	Present Progressive	Imperfective Converb	Locative Copula	*kurac'ra ʃaža* 'is slaughtering' (< *kurac'-ra + ʃaža*)
Lezgian	Present (general)	Imperfective Converb	Locative Copula	*ijiz-wa* 'is doing, does' (< *iji-z + awa*)
Rutul	Present (general)	Imperfective Converb	Locative Copula	*kirxere a* 'is writing, writes' (< *kirxe-re + a*)
Tabassaran (South)	Present (general)	Imperfective Converb	Locative Copula	*ap'ur-a* 'is doing, does' (< *ap'ur-i + a*)

Table 3: The Locative Pattern in the Lezgic languages

3.1. A special case of the Locative model in Udi

Although Udi has been described above as a language lacking the Infinitive pattern, one of the core tense and aspect forms of this language is clearly based on the Infinitive. This is the general Present form in *-(e)sa*, which is unanimously recognized by Udi researchers as being derived from the Infinitive in *-es* (cf. the Infinitive *bak-es* 'be, become' and the Present *bak-(e)sa* 'is, becomes')[15]. Cf. the following examples of the Present use; in all of them the personal agreement clitic is located outside the verb form, on a constituent immediately preceding the verb:

[15] The "e" given in brackets is retained in the Vartashen dialect of Udi and is regularly dropped in the Nizh dialect in the Present tense and in the case forms of the Infinitive, all of which have the stress on the syllable after *-es*. All our examples given below are from the Nizh dialect. Note that the form *ăšbesa* 'works' in (39) taken from a written source would be pronounced in speech as *ăšp:sa*, with vowel drop and the devoicing of /b/ between two voiceless sibilants.

(38) Udi, Nizh dialect (Elicited example)
häjsä *aʁala=ne* ***ej-sa***.
now rain=3SG **come-PRS**
'**It is raining** now.'

(39) Udi, Nizh dialect [AYDINOV & KEÇAARI 1996: 41]
käpräš-än *zavot:-a=ne* ***äš-b-esa***.
Kepresh-ERG plant-DAT=3SG **work-do-PRS**
'Kepresh **works** at a plant.'

(40) Udi, Nizh dialect [AYDINOV & KEÇAARI 1996: 26]
jan *sa* *kala* *ajiz-e=jan* ***bak-sa***.
1PL one big village-DAT=1PL **be-PRS**
'We **live** in a big village.'

It is not so clear what the exact origin of the Present form is, although its connection with the Infinitive is obvious. Wolfgang Schulze suggests that this form should be regarded as based on the same pattern "masdar/infinitive + copula" as the Lezgian Present (cf. *qačuz-wa* 'is taking', from *qačuz* 'while taking' and *awa* 'is inside') or the Future in Agul (cf. *aq'as-i* 'will do' from *aq'as* 'to do' and *i* 'is'). An Udi Present such as *aq:-sa* 'is taking' should thus be seen as a combination of the infinitive *aq:-es* 'to take' and a copula **a* subsequently lost in Udi. As for its semantic evolution, it is assumed that the original future meaning gradually shifted towards the present imperfective (SCHULZE 1982: 153–154); see also discussion in (SCHULZE, to appear).

However, this proposal seems untenable for several reasons. To start with, I am not at all convinced that it is possible to treat the structures underlying the Lezgian Present and the Agul Future as representatives of a single pattern; as I have tried to show above, these are in fact two different patterns with quite different histories. The Udi Infinitive cannot be directly compared to the Lezgian form in *-z*, which also functions as the Imperfective Converb (such a function is impossible for the Udi Infinitive). Note also that Infinitives as such (i.e. bare Infinitives) do not generally combine with Locative Copulas in the Lezgic languages, only with Nominal Copulas. There is no other independent evidence for the very existence of a Locative Copula like **a* in Udi; it may well be that it never existed in the language. And finally, even if we suppose that a copula like **a* had existed in Old Udi and even if it had been used with the Infinitive to form the future tense (according to the Infinitive pattern discussed above), it would be very strange to find this form as the main Present in the modern language. Below in sections 3 and 4 we will discuss in detail the evolution of presents into futures (via habitual/generic meaning), but the opposite evolution, from future to present, seems unlikely.

In my opinion, the history of the Udi Present is simpler than Schulze suggests (for a treatment of this issue see also (MAISAK 2008)). First of all,

one should take into account the fact that Infinitives in Udi (as opposed to many other Lezgic languages) can be inflected for case, and the Present tense is identical to one of the Infinitive case forms, namely the Dative in *-a*. Thus, the Infinitive in the Dative also ends in *-(e)s-a*, and it is distinguished formally from the Present tense only in one verb, *pes* 'say', which has a suppletive Present with the stem *neχ-* 'say:PRS'. The Dative of the Infinitive is a non-finite form which is used in purpose clauses (with motion verbs) and in the complement clause of the verb *burqes* 'begin', cf.:

(41) Udi, Nizh dialect (Text, 2004)
bez vički-muχ mälim-i t:oˁʁ
my brother-PL teacher-GEN near
***zom-bak-s-a**=t:un tac-e...*
trained-be-INF-DAT=3PL go-PFCT
'My brothers used to go to the teacher **to study**.'

(42) Udi, Nizh dialect (Text, 2006)
*bur=jan=q-sa **gärgür-b-s-a** aruʁ-o laχ-i.*
begin=1PL=STEM-PRS **mix.up-do-INF-DAT** fire-DAT put.on-AOR
'{After we have put all the ingredients into the pan,} we start **to mix** them **up**, having put (the pan) on the fire.'

In view of this obvious formal identity it seems justified to relate the Present tense to the Dative case of the Infinitive, without looking for other sources for the final *-a* in *-sa*. As concerns the semantic grounds for such a development, it should be kept in mind that the Udi Dative, as well as denoting the recipient and the (definite) patient, also expresses direction and location (cf. *baneksa urusat:-a* 's/he lives in Russia' or *tacene urusat:-a* 's/he went to Russia'), and this locative meaning seems to be historically original[16]. It is thus quite natural that one of the Dative Infinitive's meanings should have been 'location inside a process', cf. a putative reconstructed example **uk-es-a* [eat-INF-DAT] as 'inside eating'.

Being used with the personal agreement markers (which also function as Nominal Copulas in Udi), the Dative Infinitive came to lie at the centre of a typical Locative model 'X is located inside the process P', which has already been discussed above. Although formally different ("Imperfective Converb + Locative Copula" in one case and "locative form of a main verb + Nominal Copula" in the other), these constructions both evolve into Progressives ('X is P-ing') and then to general Presents, along a typologically prevalent grammaticalization path[17].

[16] The suffix *-a* of the Udi Dative most probably goes back to the Proto-Lezgic inessive case, as suggested by E. A. Bokarev (BOKAREV 1960), cf. also (SCHULZE 1982: 250, 255).
[17] The Udi Present can thus be regarded as a member of the family of "inessive verb forms" alongside with the Budugh and Kryz manner converbs and the Futures/Habituals based on them (see below). Note that in Budugh the use of inessive verb forms is also attested in complements of the verb 'to begin' (AUTHIER 2010), as seen in (42) from Udi.

It is remarkable that the Udi Present seems to be the only form within the Lezgic group that is based on the Locative case of the Infinitive. But a similar pattern is attested in some Turkic languages of the area, including Azerbaijani and Turkish: e.g. present imperfectives like *yaz-maq-da-yam* 'I am currently writing' consist of the infinitive in *-maq* in the Locative case in *-da* (*-yam* is the first singular personal suffix); cf. some discussion in (SEREBRENNIKOV & GADZHIEVA 1979: 169). It is far from obvious, however, whether this is an independent development, or whether this correspondence should be taken as evidence of the direct influence of the Azerbaijani verb system on Udi (or vice versa).

4. The Imperfective Converb Pattern

The pattern employing the Imperfective Converb and the Nominal (or General) Copula is an interesting one, as it is present in almost all the Lezgic languages with considerable variation in the meanings it bears. Both present and future tense forms can be based on this pattern, in contrast with the two patterns already discussed, which are restricted to expressing either present imperfective meaning (the Locative pattern) or future meaning (the Infinitive pattern). The data for the pattern are summarized in Table 4.

Below I will argue that all the resulting meanings observed in forms based on the Imperfective Converb pattern can be viewed as stages along a single grammaticalization path. However, for the sake of clarity, it will be better to divide the forms to be discussed into two groups depending on their basic meaning.

Language	Meaning label	Main verb form	Copula type	Example
Agul	Present Habitual / Predictive Future (+ Narrative)	Imperfective Converb	Nominal Copula	*aq'aj-e* 'does habitually' (< *aq'a-j* + *e*)
Archi	Present (general)	Imperfective Converb	General Copula	*arχarši i* 'is lying down' (< *arχar-ši* + *i*)
Budugh	Future ("éventuel")	Manner Converb	(no copula)	*siʔira* 'will do; (habitually) does'
Budugh	Present Continuous	Manner Converb	General Copula	*siʔira-vi* 'is doing, does' (< *siʔir-a* + *vi*)
Kryz	Hypothetical Future / Present Habitual ("Éventuel")	Manner Converb	(no copula)	*kurac'ra* 'will (probably) slaughter' (< *kurac'r-a* + class suffixes)
Lezgian	Future / Present Habitual (+ Narrative)	Imperfective Converb	Nominal Copula	*iji-da* 'will do; habitually does' (< **iji-d* + *a*)

Language	Meaning label	Main verb form	Copula type	Example
Tabassaran (North)	Present Habitual	Imperfective Converb	Nominal Copula	*ip'ud-ur* 'habitually does' (< *ip'ur-di* + *jur*)
Tabassaran (South)	Future / Present Habitual (+ Narrative)	Imperfective Converb	Nominal Copula	*ap'ur-u* 'habitually does, will do' (< *ap'ur-i* + *wu*)
Rutul	Present Habitual	Imperfective Converb	Nominal Copula	*kirxere (i)* 'writes habitually' (< *kirxe-re* + *i*)
Tsakhur	Present (general)	Imperfective Converb	(no copula)	*a:qa* 'opens, is opening' (= converb)
Tsakhur	Present Continuous ("Durative")	Imperfective Converb	General Copula	*a:qa=wo-d* 'is opening' (< *a:qa* + *wo-d*)

Table 4: The "Imperfective Converb + (Nominal) Copula" pattern in the Lezgic languages

4.1. Present and Habitual

In two Lezgic languages possessing General Copulas, the Imperfective Converb pattern has become the source for the language's main present tense.

The first of these is Archi, where the generalized Present built on the Imperfective Converb can express the whole range of imperfective meanings: see e.g. (43) with a progressive and (44) with a habitual interpretation.

(43) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 188]
ez *jat:ik* *noc'* ***parxar-ši*** ***i***
1SG.DAT above bird.IV **fly.IPF-CVB** **IV.COP**
'A bird **is flying** above me.'

(44) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 188]
un *šumebos* ***orkʰin-ši*** ***w-i?***
2SG what.number **study.IPF-CVB** **1-COP**
'In which (class at school) **do** you **study**?'

In Tsakhur the situation with the Present tense is more complicated, resembling that seen with the Future/Prospective (see section 2 above). The main Present, with a wide semantic spectrum, is simply identical to the Imperfective Converb[18], and there is no copula – as already noted above,

[18] Again, I am discussing here only the "non-attributive form" of the Present, which does not have an attributive marker (the difference in use of the two variants is not significant for the present discussion, but see (KIBRIK & TESTELETS (eds.) 1999: 407-419) for some observations dealing with the communicative oppositions between the attributive and non-attributive verb forms).

judging from the Rutul data we can suspect that the former Nominal Copula might have been lost for phonetic reasons:

(45) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 785]
aš:i, zɨ magazin ***baʁlamiš-aʔ-a,*** *waχt*
PTCL 1SG.ERG shop.IV **close-IV.do-IPF** time.III
a‹p'›k'ɨn-na.
III.go.away.PF-ATR
'Well, I **am closing** the shop, the time has passed.'

(46) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 773]
jiš-di bala-biš-e... c'aˤχ-na miz ***χaˤrqoχ-e,***
our-ATR child-PL-ERG Tsakhur-ATR language.III **III.study-IPF**
c'aˤχ-ni miz-en naʁɨl-bɨ, šeʔir-bɨ ***qaˤ‹d›aq-a.***
Tsakhur-ATR language-ATR tale-PL poem-PL **NPL.read-IPF**
'Our children **have been studying** Tsakhur and **reading Tsakhur** tales and poems {in primary school for three years already}.'

Another Tsakhur form from the present imperfective domain involves the General copula *wo-d* and functions as a Present Continuous ("Durative"), preferred for ongoing situations, cf.:

(47) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 229]
hiwa:gʷ-a ***wo-b*** *gade=ji: iči:.*
HPL.play-IPF **COP-HPL** boy.I=and girl.II
'{Out there in the street} A boy and a girl **are playing**.'

In three other Lezgic languages the main Presents are built on the Locative pattern, and the "Imperfective Converb + Nominal Copula" pattern gives rise to Habituals. In Rutul the enclitic Nominal Copula *-i* is not present in this form in some dialects, and in this case the Habitual is formally identical to the Imperfective Converb, as in Tsakhur (or in Kryz, see below), cf.:

(48) Rutul, Luchek dialect [ALEKSEEV 1994b: 231]
iz-dɨ badu hämmeše ***suvurqʷa-r:***
my-ATR trousers always **tear.IPF-CVB**
'My trousers always **tear**.'

The use of the parallel form in North Tabassaran can be illustrated with the following example from the Khanag dialect studied by Peter Uslar back in the 1870s (for the South Tabassaran Future/Habitual, see the next section):

(49) Tabassaran, Northern dialect [USLAR 1979: 232]
duʁa-n š:ir-iʔ besčinči-ri iʒur-ar jamiš-ar
that-GEN vineyard-IN gardener-ERG good-PL fruit-PL

ip'ur-d-ur
do.IPF-CVB-COP
'In his garden the gardener **grows** good fruit.'

In most Agul dialects nothing happens to the Nominal Copula (which has the shape *e*, *i* or *wu*) in the Present Habitual, although in some dialects where it appears as *i* it is absorbed by the Imperfective Converb marker *-ri* || *-di*[19]. Cf. some typical uses of the Present Habitual:

(50) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
ze *č:uč:u* *p:ara* *p'ap'ruc-ar* ***du-a-j-e***
my brother.ERG many cigarette-PL **draw-IPF-CVB-COP**
'My brother **smokes** a lot.'

(51) Agul, Keren dialect (Kurdal text, 2005)
xin *p:ara* ***w-aˁ-j-e***
1PLI many **go-IPF-CVB-COP**
'{Not many young people remain in our village.} Many of us **go away**.'

The Habitual in Agul is polysemous and deserves a special mention at this point. Beyond typical habitual contexts, it is widely used in all dialects as a narrative tense or "historical present" (alongside the main Present tense, as well as the Perfect and the Resultative, which are the main tenses occurring in narrative), cf.:

(52) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Text, 2005)
bic'i *či* ***agʷarq'-a-j-e*** *dad-as.* *agʷarq'-u-na,*
little sister **show-IPF-CVB-COP** father-DAT show-PF-CVB
me *murad-a* *ramazan-ar* *χ-as* ***ʕʷ-a-j-e***
this Murad-GEN Ramazan-PL bring-INF **go-IPF-CVB-COP**
š-u-na ***χ-a-j-e***
go-PF-CVB **bring-IPF-CVB-COP**
'{Once my father went to ask for a girl's hand in marriage.} (They) **show** a younger sister to my father. After they have showed (her), this Murad's son Ramazan and others **go** to take the bride. They go and **bring** (her).'

One peculiar use of the Habitual in the Huppuq' dialect is found in some types of modal utterances, e.g. in rhetorical questions like:

[19] As an example cf. the Tsirkhe dialect, whose Imperfective Converb *arq'a-ri* 'while doing' is identical to the Present Habitual *arq'a-ri* 'does (habitually)', although originally the latter comes from **arq'a-ri-i* with the Nominal Copula *i*. The negative counterparts of the two forms are not identical: contrast the prefixed Imperfective Converb *d-arq'a-ri* 'while not doing' and the Present Habitual with a negative copula *arq'a-j-dawa* 'does not (habitually)', where the converbial marker *-ri* becomes *-j* .

(53) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
naj-č ***ʕʷ-a-j-e*** *ge?*
which-LAT **go-IPF-CVB-COP** that
'Where on earth **can** he **go**?! (i.e. he has nowhere to go)'

In the Keren dialect of Agul the scope of the Present Habitual is even wider, as it is used as a future tense as well (along with the main Future form based on the Infinitive)[20]; cf. the following examples from the texts recorded in the villages of Richa and Kurdal:

(54) Agul, Keren dialect (Richa text, 1955) [MAGOMETOV 1970: 217]
ic'u-d *keje-f* *q:izil* ***c'-a-j-e*** *hagi*
ten-NMLZ be.in.contact-NMLZ gold **give-IPF-CVB-COP** that
ʔat:iw-u-t:-is.
take.out-PF-NMLZ-DAT
'{My gold has fallen into the pit.} I **will give** a 10-rouble gold coin to the person who takes it out.'

(55) Agul, Keren dialect (Kurdal text, 2005)
za-š, *aʁ-a-a,* *imenna* *hale* *wa-qaj* ***paj***
1SG-ERG say-IPF-PRS exactly this 2SG-COM **part**
aq'-a-j-e *ze* *dewlet,* *aʁ-a-a.*
do-IPF-CVB-COP my wealth say-IPF-PRS
'{You are the best person I've ever met.} It's you with whom I **will share** my wealth, he says.'

Given the Habitual/Future polysemy in the Keren dialect, the Agul situation can be viewed as intermediate between the pure Present/Habitual meaning and those cases where the "Imperfective Converb + (Nominal) Copula" pattern serves as the basis for the main Future tense of the language.

4.2. Future

Although in the Keren dialect of Agul the Present Habitual can be used as a means of expressing future time reference, there is also a special dedicated Future based on the Infinitive pattern (see above). In the other two East Lezgic languages the main Future tense and the Present Habitual are one and the same form, and it is hard to decide whether their basic synchronic meaning should be considered Habitual or Future.

In South Tabassaran, for example, forms like *ap'ur-u* 'habitually does, will do' (which historically consists of the Imperfective Converb *ap'ur-i*

[20] NADIR SULEJMANOV in fact seems to consider this meaning as the basic one for this form, calling it the General Future ("*buduščee obšee*"), cf. (SULEJMANOV 1981: 147; 1993: 146–147). However, even in the Keren dialect this form is not restricted to future time reference.

and the Nominal Copula *wu*) are the main means of conveying habitual and generic meanings, cf.:

(56) Tabassaran, Southern dialect [SHIKHALIEVA 2004: 55]
xadnu *ignar* ***urgur-u.***
in.summer harvest.PL **reap.IPF.CVB-COP**
'It is customary to harvest in summer.'

(57) Tabassaran, Southern dialect [MAGOMETOV 1965: 344]
helek-ži *ʁˁ-ä-raji* *müh* *hül-iz*
rapid-ADV go-IPF-PTCP river sea-DAT
qurq'-dar.
reach.IPF.CVB-COP.NEG
'{A proverb.} A river with a rapid current **does not reach** the sea.'

Sentences like (57) are in fact ambiguous: (57) may mean both that a river with a rapid current **does not usually reach** the sea, and that it **cannot reach** the sea. The possibilitive reading of the form is also illustrated in (58) below – what is described here is not some habit or regularity, but the very (im)possibility of the situation:

(58) Tabassaran, Southern dialect [MAGOMETOV 1965: 357]
č'al *äj-dr-u* *χu-jir-i* *pul* *naʔa-n*
language know-NEG-PTCP dog-PL-ERG money where-EL
tːuwr-uʔ
take.IPF.CVB-COP
'{Mullah Nasreddin asked the dogs to pay for his ox, but} Where **can** dogs, which don't speak (human) language, **get** the money from?'

The use illustrated in (58) is close to the epistemic uses of the future tense in many languages: for example, (58) translates into English as "Where **will** dogs... **get** the money from?" as well.[21] At the same time, the dedicated Habitual of South Tabassaran can express other types of future meaning, e.g. describing a person's intentions; cf. (59) where the first singular agent personal marker ousts the copula:

(59) Tabassaran, Southern dialect [MAGOMETOV 1965: 351]
uzu *učʷu-z* *sa-b* *mutmu* ***ulupur-za.***
1SG.ERG 2PL-DAT one-N thing **show.IPF.CVB-1SG**
'{You all stand still!} I **am going to show** you one thing.'

Finally, the same form is widely used as a narrative tense, cf.:

(60) Tabassaran, Southern dialect [MAGOMETOV 1965: 370]
ʁˁär-u, ***ʁˁär-u,*** ***alaqur-u*** *muʁa-z*
go.IPF.CVB-COP **go.IPF.CVB-COP** **meet.IPF.CVB-COP** this-DAT

[21] Note that in the Russian translation in (MAGOMETOV 1965: 358) the future tense is used: cf. *Jazyka ne znajuščije sobaki otkuda* ***dadut****?* (lit. 'will give').

sab *wič-un* *har.*
one apple-GEN tree
'{One day a poor man went to Allah to ask for help.} So he **goes** and **goes**, and he **meets** an apple-tree...'

The next language to be discussed is Lezgian, which is probably the best-known Caucasian language to display Habitual/Future polysemy, having been discussed in a typological paper by HASPELMATH (1998). The Lezgian synthetic verb form in *-da* is the main means of expressing different types of future meaning, cf.:

(61) Lezgian [TALIBOV 1966: 574]
p:ak:a *čun* *šeher-diz* ***fi-da.***
tomorrow we town-DAT **go-FUT**
'Tomorrow we **will go** to the town.'

(62) Lezgian [HASPELMATH 1993: 394]
abur-uz *mixi* *jad* *gu-n* *t-awu-r-t'a,*
they-DAT clean water give-MSD NEG-go.PF-PTCP-COND
cük^{w}-er *gürčeg* *ja-z* ***amuq'-da-č.***
flower-PL beautiful COP-CVB **remain-FUT-NEG**
If one doesn't give them clean water, the flowers **will not stay** beautiful.'

It also functions as a Habitual, although the habitual domain has been largely taken over by the dedicated Present form based on the Locative pattern (see above). Nonetheless, the form *-da* is still widely used in proverbs and also, according to HASPELMATH (1993: 141), "in more formal styles", as opposed to the colloquial language:

(63) Lezgian [HASPELMATH 1993: 220]
ič *t:ar-an* *k'anik* ***awat-da.***
apple tree-GEN under **fall-FUT**
'{As people say,} The apple **falls** under the tree.'

A special use of the Future/Habitual mentioned by HASPELMATH (1993: 142; 1998: 32) is found in "stage directions" such as (64) from a play. This is obviously a subtype of the narrative use, which is also characteristic of this Lezgian form:

(64) Lezgian [HASPELMATH 1993: 466, 469]
perde *agal* ***že-da.***
curtain closed **become-FUT**
'The curtain **closes**.'

(65) Lezgian [KHALILOV & AKHLAKOV 1976: 270]
req'-e *a-bur-al* *sa* *kesib* *kas* ***halt-da.*** *am*
road-IN this-PL-SUPER one poor person **meet-FUT** this

feq'i-jr-iz	*salam*	*ga-na*	*eläč'-na*
mullah-PL-DAT	greeting	give-CVB.PF	leave.behind-CVB.PF

fi-da.
go-FUT

'{One day three mullahs went for a walk.} On the road **they meet** a poor man. After greeting them, he **goes by**, leaving them behind.'

An excursus on the origin of the Lezgian Future/Habitual

The problem with the Lezgian *da*-form is that its historical morphological structure is rather obscure and it is not obvious whether it is an instance of the Imperfective Converb pattern at all. It has been suggested that the suffix *-da* might have originated as a variant of the copula, where the initial *d-* was a lexicalized class marker (HASPELMATH 1993: 116) (in that case *j-* in the modern Nominal Copula *ja* would probably reflect the marker of another nominal class). Another hypothesis is that the *da*-form is derived from a substantivized participle with the suffix **-d* (ALEKSEEV 1985: 98). The latter suggestion is based on the fact that in many Lezgic languages the substantivizing affix of adjectives and participles is *-d-* (in Lezgian proper it is *-di* in the Absolutive and *-da* in oblique cases in the singular). Although Alekseev does not say what the source for the final *-a* in the Lezgian Future/Habitual could be, it is not necessarily the copula *ja* – it is in principle possible that *-da* is the lexicalized inessive or ergative case of the Old Lezgian substantivized participle (these two cases are identical in some classes of words, including adjectives, cf. absolutive *jaru-di* 'red one' vs. ergative/inessive *jaru-da*). If it was the inessive, then the Future/Habitual may have been another member of the family of "inessive verb forms" already discussed above. However, further study is needed to corroborate this idea, and below I will consider another scenario.

In my opinion, it is highly probable that the now bound morpheme *-da* historically represents a contraction of the converbial affix **-d* (or maybe **-di*) with the Nominal Copula, which appears as *ja* in the modern language. The reason for this is the functional parallelism between this *-da* and the combination of the converbial/adverbial suffix *-di* + the Locative Copula *a* in closely related East Lezgic languages (here I will restrict myself to presenting the Agul data). The first parallel concerns the formation of stative verbs, which in Lezgian have the suffix *-da* in the (affirmative) present tense, cf. *k'an-da* 'wants, loves', *t'a-da* 'is ill; aches', or *či-da* 'knows'. The corresponding statives in Agul include the suffix *-ri* || *-di* (this is exactly the suffix found in Imperfective converbs of dynamic verbs[22]) and the Locative Copula *a*, cf. *k:an-di a* 'wants, loves', *it:a-ri a* 'is ill; aches', or *ħa-ri a* 'knows' in the Burkikhan dialect.

[22] Due to the regular phonological change /d/ > /r/ > /j/ (after a vowel) the original **-di* still appears as *-di* only after stems ending in sonorants (cf. *arq'a-ri* 'while doing' vs. *ic'an-*

Another case is the formation of predicatives, which may be viewed as a subclass of the stative verbs, derived from adjectives on a regular basis: they also have the suffix *-da* in Lezgian (cf. *širin-da* 'is tasty' from *širin* 'sweet, tasty', or *gišin-da* 'is hungry' from *gišin* 'hungry'), while in Agul the adjective is marked with the adverbial suffix *-di* and is used in combination with the Locative Copula (cf. *širin-di a* 'is tasty', or *ʔažiz-di a* 'is unhappy'). The converbial and the adverbial *-di* certainly represent one and the same affix in diachronic terms, and can also be found in some temporal adverbs derived from nouns, such as *jaʁ-di* 'all day long' from *juʁ* 'day' with apophony.

Given the existence of such clear parallels in the forms of statives and predicatives, I find it plausible that the structure of Futures/Habituals in these languages is also parallel, i.e. that the modern *-da* suffix in the Lezgian Future/Habitual comes from a former converb in **-d* (or **-di*) and a copula **a*, whose combination has undergone morphologization and become totally fused. One weakness of my proposal is of course the fact that I am comparing the Nominal Copula *ja* in Lezgian with the Locative Copula *a* in Agul. As pointed out above, in Lezgian the Locative Copula proper is *awa*, derived from *ja* (or at least from the same source from which *ja* is derived) by means of a locative preverb meaning 'inside'. We cannot say now whether Lezgian previously possessed another Nominal Copula, or whether this *ja* (or **a*) once served as both the Nominal and the Locative Copula, to be reanalysed later as a Nominal Copula only. However this may be, it is obvious that the Lezgian *ja* and the Agul *a* go back to one and the same historical source.

These is further evidence in favour of the proposed analysis (and against the "inessive" hypothesis) from the Akhty dialect of Lezgian, where instead of *da*-forms like *fi-da* 'will go, goes' we find forms ending in *-za*, e.g. *fi-za* 'will go, goes'. According to (GAJDAROV 1961: 48–49), this *-za* does not reflect the sound change /d/ > /z/, which occurs in the Akhty dialect only before /i/, but points to the alternative origin of the Future/Habitual. In this dialect it is probably derived from the Imperfective Converb in *-z* and the Nominal Copula *ja* || *je*; the polysemy displayed by the Akhty form is exactly the same as that in the literary language (i.e. 'future' + 'habitual' + 'narrative', cf. also the present tense of the statives e.g. *k'an-za* 'wants, loves'). This therefore provides another reason to believe that the *da*-form represents the same pattern, although with a different, and now "opaque", converb marker.

One more example of forms displaying Future/Habitual polysemy can be found in Kryz. The form known as the "éventuel", i.e. something like

di 'while giving' in Burkikhan), and in some dialects it has become *-j* in all positions after the loss of final sonorants in the Imperfective stems (cf. *arq'a-j* 'while doing' and *ic'a-j* 'while giving' in Huppuq').

the Uncertain Future[23], consists of a manner converb plus the agreement suffixes, and it is one of the two future tenses found in the language. Unlike the main Future form built on the participle, which will be treated below in section 5, the "éventuel" describes a prediction whose fulfilment does not depend on the speaker, in contrast to the Future ("La prédiction à l'éventuel se définit comme non dépendante du locuteur, et s'oppose au futur", cf. (AUTHIER 2009: 268)). It is found in examples such as:

(66) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 268]
*dušman-žir zin **j-u-rq-ru,** ruq'-iju.*
enemy-ERG 1SG **PV-F-catch-EVT.F** F.kill-FUT.F
'{Please, hide me!} The enemy **will** (possibly) **catch** me, and (if he catches me), will certainly kill me!'

(67) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 269]
*a-n-ir hičvaχt ža-z riš **vuc'-da-b!***
3-H-ERG never 1PLE-DAT girl.F **give-NEG.EVT-F**
'He **will never give** us his daughter!'

This form is also found in generic sentences (Authier's "proverbial" use), which is reminiscent of the range of the *da-* form in Lezgian, cf. a riddle and a description of a regularity rooted in "folk biology" as examples:

(68) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 386]
*girt-ažbar **ɤi-jc'-ra,** iž q'ara **ši-u-ru.** (rib)*
all-HPL **PV-put.on-EVT** RFL naked **be-F-EVT.F** needle.F
'{A riddle.} She **dresses** everybody, but **stays** naked herself (a needle).'

(69) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 341]
*ɣar-idiz hač' di-b-qa-ži žan **vuc'-da-d***
snake-DAT star.F NEG-F-see-SEQ soul.N **give-NEG.EVT-N**
'{A proverb.} A snake **does not die** without seeing a star.'

The "éventuel" is not identical to the bare manner converb in Kryz, as it takes suffixal class markers, though it may be that this agreement strategy appeared secondarily by analogy with the Present tense (Gilles Authier, p.c.). At the same time, the negative form is not symmetrical with the positive in structure and adds a suffixed copula (cf. above *da-b*, *da-d*, etc.), whereas the manner converb has prefixal or infixal negation.
The situation in Budugh, which also has an "éventuel" based on the same manner converb, is slightly different – in contrast to Kryz, this tense form does not contain class agreement suffixes. Semantically this is the main Future tense in Budugh, cf.:

[23] The term "éventuel" was introduced in (LAZARD 1975: 353) as a cover term for those verb forms which refer to irrealis (including future and potential) and habitual situations.

(70) Budugh [MEJLANOVA 1984: 77, 166]

ulu	*χila*	*zin*	*za-va-z*	*paga*	*kilaχan*
this	horse.III	1SG	1SG-2SG-DAT	tomorrow	back

ölsül-a.

III.turn.CAUS.IPF-EVT

'I shall **give** this horse **back** to you tomorrow.'

Apart from its future use, this form also occurs in generic statements, cf.:

(71) Budugh [MEJLANOVA 1984: 31]

buluttu	*hava.ž-a*	*č'uval-ber*	*ʕalgol-a*.
misty	weather-IN	sheep-PL	**get.lost.IPF-EVT**

'When it is misty, the sheep (usually) **get lost**.'

(72) Budugh [MEJLANOVA 1984: 135]

ʕari	*χor*	*ug-u*	*tov-una*	*sorq'ar-a*.
good	dog.III	self-AD/GEN	fireplace-IN	**III.die.IPF-EVT**

'{A proverb.} A good dog **dies** near its fireplace.'

In the negative it has exactly the same form as the negative manner converb, with a negative prefix or infix and not a negated copula as in other analytic forms, cf.:

(73) Budugh [MEJLANOVA 1984: 152]

a-n-iz	*vin*	*iderqir-a*.
this-H-DAT	2SG	**NEG.see.IPF-EVT**

'{If you hide behind the bed,} he **won't see** you.'

(74) Budugh [MEJLANOVA 1984: 117]

savʕa	*oχ*	*kilaχan*	*odolsal-a*.
III.throw.PF	arrow.III	back	**NEG.III.go.back.IPF-EVT**

'{A proverb.} An arrow that has been shot **does not come** back.'

It is thus tempting to consider this Budugh form as originating in the finite use of a manner converb without the involvement of the copula. At the same time, there is another form in Budugh based on the manner converb which does include a copula, namely the Progressive Present form, which consists of this converb and the General Copula *vi*. This form is mainly used as a Present Continuous to describe ongoing situations, cf.:

(75) Budugh [ALEKSEEV 1994a: 278]

a-n-a	*χab-ar*	*ird*	*exčir-a-vi*.
this-H-IN/GEN	arm-EL	blood.IV	**IV.flow.IPF-CVB-COP**

'Blood **is flowing** from his arm.'

4.3. Semantic development of the pattern: from progressive to future

As we have seen in the previous sections, realizations of the Imperfective Converb pattern are rather numerous in the Lezgic languages. In fact, almost all of them have forms going back to this pattern, Udi appearing to be the only exception.

The meanings of these forms are rather heterogeneous, ranging from the Present Continuous (in Tsakhur and Budugh) to the Future Uncertain (in Kryz). In most languages the corresponding forms are polysemous, and this polysemy at first glance seems somewhat "strange", as such diverse functions as 'habitual' + 'narrative', 'habitual' + 'future', or 'habitual' + 'narrative' + 'future' can be combined in one and the same form. However, from the typological point of view there is nothing exceptional in such combinations of functions, and examples from other language families, including Turkic, Uralic, Semitic and Dravidian among others, suggest that we are dealing here with a common path of grammatical development.

This path seems to have been first discussed by JOAN BYBEE et al. (1994: 277) who try to explain the fact that in some languages "future is coupled with uses which are just a subset of the general present uses", suggesting that "the future use of a present is a late development", and the unusual polysemy appears when "a newly developed present has taken over the early core uses of the present and left the old present to serve a miscellaneous set of functions". MARTIN HASPELMATH (1998) has considered this development in more detail, suggesting a scenario of diachronic development comprising two independent grammaticalization paths, one leading from progressives to habituals and another from progressives to futures (one of the polysemous forms he discusses is precisely the Lezgian Future/Habitual in *-da*). In HASPELMATH's view, future and habitual themselves are "a temporal meaning and an aspectual meaning which share no obvious common traits" (HASPELMATH 1998: 32), and their combination within one and the same form becomes possible only as a "side effect" of a change from a new progressive to a more general present tense, which pushes the old present to a more marginal position, leaving it to express only a subset of its former functions.

Some weaknesses of HASPELMATH's proposal were criticized by Sergei TATEVOSOV (2004, 2005), who pointed out that postulating an independent 'progressive' > 'future' grammaticalization path leads to some incorrect predictions. In particular, he emphasized the fact that progressives are most typically combined with a particular type of future meaning, namely that of the scheduled future (cf. *I am leaving tomorrow*), although forms displaying Future/Habitual polysemy do not necessarily occur in such contexts and can be restricted to the expression of predic-

tive future (which is not normally associated with progressives at all).[24] Given that predictive uses are only possible for general present imperfectives but not for progressives, it is clear that a certain implicational relationship holds between 'habitual' and 'predictive': only a present tense expressing 'habitual' meaning can express 'predictive' as well. In TATEVOSOV's proposal 'habitual' and 'predictive future' are located on a single grammaticalization path, being connected by the ability and possibility meanings (cf. BYBEE et al. 1994) for details concerning the evolution in the modality domain):

(76) progressive > habitual > ability > root possibility >
> epistemic possibility > predictive future >
> prospective/intentional future

The principle underlying the connection between habitual and ability meanings is very simple: it says that "if X performs P regularly, then s/he is able to perform P". The link between ability and possibility is also quite natural, and we have seen above that the Lezgic data give some examples of Habitual forms used in possibilitive contexts: cf. (53), (57), or (58) above. So it is not in fact the case that future and habitual "share no obvious common traits", as HASPELMATH puts it.

Given the original "Imperfective Converb + Copula" structure, the original meaning of the Lezgic forms discussed above should be progressive, i.e. just 'X is P-ing' (or, very literally, 'X exists in a P-ing manner'). In the modern languages we do not see dedicated progressives based on this pattern, which may be not so surprising as "pure" progressives are very rare in East Caucasian languages (one of a few existing examples in Kryz was discussed above), probably because they very soon turn into general-purpose present imperfectives. The Present Continuous forms in Tsakhur and Kryz occupy an intermediate position between dedicated progressives and generalized present imperfectives, as they are preferred in the description of ongoing events although they do not possess the lexical restrictions characteristic of progressives cross-linguistically (i.e. restrictions of co-occurrence to dynamic predicates only). General Presents based on the Imperfective Converb pattern are found now in Archi and Tsakhur (without a copula in the latter), which are both languages lacking the Locative pattern. From the semantic point of view, the present tenses in these languages can be located at the left edge of the scheme in (76).

In Rutul and the three East Lezgic languages, on the other hand, the main generalized Presents are based on the Locative pattern, while the Imperfective Converb model gives rise to Habituals and/or Futures, sometimes with additional modal or narrative uses. These forms seem to be "old presents", ousted by the locative periphrases from the "core" imperfective domain.

[24] It is noteworthy that the data corroborating TATEVOSOV's approach were drawn from another group of Nakh-Daghestanian languages, namely the Andic group (Bagwalal, Godoberi and Karata).

"Old presents" in these languages have moved from the far left edge of the scheme (76) and gradually travel farther and farther away from it; see also the diagram below for a simplified illustration of the process.

Finally, the "éventuel" in Budugh and Kryz, based on the manner converb, seems to have undergone the same evolution, being restricted now to the expression of future and habitual. It is notable, however, that the habitual domain proper has already been conquered by "younger" Presents in these languages (and in Lezgian), meaning that outside the future the relevant forms are primarily used in generic contexts. The movement of such forms towards the right edge of the scheme in (76) is thus even more evident.

It is also no accident that in Kryz and in Agul (esp. the Keren dialect) the polysemous Habituals/Futures appear only in predictive and hypothetical future contexts, which is the first stage in the future time reference domain according to TATEVOSOV's insightful proposal (note also that in both languages more neutral future forms also exist). Only in Lezgian has the Habitual/Future become a "true" generalized Future, approaching the final stage of the "present > future" evolution.

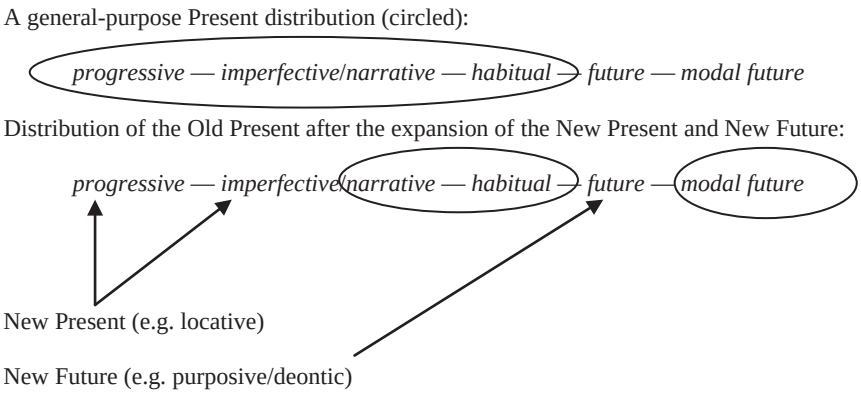


Diagram 1: A schematic representation of the 'new present' and 'new future' expansion

5. The Participle Pattern

The last pattern which I will discuss in this paper makes use of the Imperfective Participle and the Nominal Copula (this will be also referred to as the Participle pattern for short). The forms representing this pattern are usually polysemous, and the path of their semantic evolution is basically the same as with forms based on the Imperfective Converb. The construction with the participle is more restricted, however (for example, it seems to be unknown to Lezgian, Tabassaran and Archi).

The participle itself can appear within this pattern either in the attributive form or in the nominalized form. The first type is attested in Rutul, where forms with an attributive marker *-d* occur both as attributes (cf. ***jaχ-a-d****edemi* 'a running man') and in periphrastic constructions. On the other hand, in Agul the form used in the attributive position is unmarked (cf. *ħup:-ar* ***uz-a*** *azal-ar* 'enclosures where sheep are milked', where the participle *uz-a* is identical to the bare Imperfective stem), while as part of a periphrastic construction it would bear the nominalization marker *-f* (absolutive singular).[25]

In Rutul the combination of the Imperfective Participle and the Nominal Copula is used as a dedicated Habitual, although this form is very peripheral (it seems to be rare, and it is mentioned only by SVETLANA MAKHMUDOVA, who gives just a couple of examples of its use)[26], cf.:

(77) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 70]
išk'il-maše *aˤkʷaˤl-bir* *χuk-uma* ***haʔ-a-d*** ***i***
sparrow-PL.ERG nest-PL tree-PL.IN **do-IPF-ATR** **COP**
'Sparrows **usually make** nests in trees.'

It should be borne in mind that this is not the main means of expressing habitual meaning, as in Rutul there exists another dedicated Habitual with the Imperfective Converb, as well as the generalized Present form based on a Locative pattern (see above).

In Agul the Habitual based on the Participle pattern is also just one of a range of devices used for habitual marking (cf. (MAISAK & MERDANOVA 2003) for a more elaborate discussion); it is preferred in generic sentences like:

(78) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
mal-ar-i *ʔük'-er* ***ʕut'-a-f-e*** *jak:*
cattle-PL-ERG grass-PL **eat-IPF-NMLZ-COP** meat
ʕut'-a-f-t:awa.
eat-IPF-NMLZ-COP.NEG
'Cattle **eat** grass and **do not eat** meat.'

(79) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Text, 2004)
χumb-ar *ʕʷ-a-f-t:awa* *naq'ʷ-ar-il-di,* *e-wa?*
woman-PL go-IPF-NMLZ-COP.NEG grave-PL-SUPER-LAT COP-Q
'{When there is a funeral,} Women **do not normally go** to the graveyard, do they?'

[25] It is important that in periphrastic forms the nominalization marker is always found in the absolutive singular, and the participle does not display number agreement, which points to a considerable degree of grammaticalization with respect to the original identification/characterization structure.

[26] According to GILLES AUTHIER (p.c.), in Southern Rutul, for example in the village of Shin, a participle can be used without a copula in such contexts.

The same form often occurs in modal utterances with a deontic nuance, emphasizing that the situation should occur in due order (cf. 81), or in questions with a nuance of impossibility, referring to a situation which is hardly imaginable in the given circumstances (cf. 82):

(80) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Text, 2005)
An old man tells a young man to mount the horse, but the young man refuses:
waʔ, p-u-ne=ʁaj, jaš x-u-naje idemi
no say-PF-PFCT=QUOT age become-PF-RES.PTCP man
aluq'-a-f-e
mount-IPF-NMLZ-COP
'No, – said (he), – it is an old man that **should sit** (on a horse).'

(81) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Text, 2005)
A man has tied his donkey to a tree and asks whether it can be stolen. His friends calm him down:
waʔ, aʁ-a-j-e, we degi na
no say-IPF-CVB-COP your donkey who:ERG
qat:k'-a-f-e *aʁ-a-j-e.*
steal-IPF-NMLZ-COP say-IPF-CVB-COP
'Oh no, – they say, – who **can steal** your donkey? – they say.'

However, this is not the only meaning of the participial Habitual, as it can refer to future situations as well. In this case the speaker makes the assumption that the situation will take place, drawing a certain inference from some observable state of affairs, cf.:

(82) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
t:iʔ ʔurd-ana p:ara ixp:-ar ***uʁ-a-f-e***
this.year winter-ADV many snow-PL **fall-IPF-NMLZ-COP**
'{This summer is very hot.} **I suppose it will snow** heavily in winter.'

An interesting case is observed in Udi, which also possesses a verb form displaying similar polysemy. The form with suffix *-o*, derived from the Imperfective stem, is described by WOLFGANG SCHULZE as a Modal Future (in Udi there is also a semantically neutral and monosemic Future form in *-al-*), cf. (SCHULZE 1982: 157; SCHULZE-FÜRHOFF 1994: 476). This is true for the Nizh dialect, as this form is used mainly to refer to possible events in the future whose realization can be expected, although without certainty, cf.:

(83) Udi, Nizh dialect [KEÇAARI 2001: 130]
Two brothers share a house. The brother living on the ground floor begins to destroy his part of the house. His brother from the upper floor asks:

*p:oj bezi k:ož ala **čur=e=k:-o?***
PTCL my house above **remain=3SG=STEM-FUTMOD**
'Well, and **will** my upper house **remain** (~ is it possible that it remains intact)?'

(84) Udi, Nizh dialect [KEÇAARI 2001: 137]
Two fellow-villagers, at odds with each other, found themselves near a fast-flowing river. One of them suggests crossing the river holding hands in order not to be swept away by the current:
χe-naχun č:er-i-t:-uχun oša p:urun
water-ABL go.out-AOR-NMLZ-ABL after again
oro=jan=bak-o
quarrel=1PL=be-FUTMOD
'And after we come out of the water, we **will** (be able to) **quarrel** again.'

At the same time, the use of this form is also attested in generic statements, mostly proverbs and descriptions of traditional customs. Judging from the oral corpus of the modern Nizh dialect, it seems that this use is almost absent in real speech, although it is quite widespread in Udi writings – for example, in the collection of Udi proverbs published in (KEÇAARI 2001) most sentences contain exactly this form. Cf. (85) from this collection, as well as an elicited example given as an illustration of the typical use of the *bak-o* form:

(85) Udi, Nizh dialect [KEÇAARI 2001: 106]
*taj-nut: χod-en χoži **te=ne** **sak-o***
branch-without tree-ERG shadow **NEG=3SG** **drop-FUTMOD**
'A tree without branches **does not throw** a shadow.'

(86) Udi, Nizh dialect (Elicited example)
*amdar-i p:aˁ pul**=e** **bak-o***
person-GEN two eye**=3SG** **be-FUTMOD**
'A human being **has** two eyes (~ normally has, should have).'

The most frequent use of the form occurs with the verb *bakes* 'be, become' in the possibilitive construction – 'it is possible that P', which is semantically intermediate between 'P usually happens' and 'P will happen'. Such a use is found in the construction with the Infinitive, expressing the participant's ability ('can, be able') or external possibility of occurrence ('it is allowed, there are no obstacles'); note also that the third singular form of this verb *ba=ne=k-o* has been lexicalized as a modal word meaning 'maybe, possibly':

(87) Udi, Nizh dialect (Elicited example)
*χod-al laj-es **te=n** **bak-o***
tree-SUPER climb-INF **NEG=3SG** **be-FUTMOD**
'You **cannot** (= are not able to) climb this tree.'

(88) Udi, Nizh dialect (Text, 2006)
lap t:e soʁ-o t:ul-uruχ=al ***ba=ne=k-o***
very that one-NMLZ grapes-PL=also **be=3SG=STEM-FUTMOD**
haˤvq:-es.
gather-INF
'{With the help of a special basket} All other sorts of grapes **can** be gathered as well.'

(89) Udi, Nizh dialect [KEÇAARI 2001: 129]
After a cow has been lost, a father tells his son to go to the marketplace and search there:
ba=ne=k-o, *čur t:aʁaj=e tac-e.*
be=3SG=STEM-FUTMOD cow there.LAT=3SG go-PFCT
'**Maybe** it is there that the cow went.'

Finally, one more use of the Modal Future/Habitual can be found in modern Udi speech in narratives, that of the "historical present". This discourse strategy is marginal in comparison to the use of the Preterite and the main Present in the central strand of the narrative, but still it is found in a few narratives from our corpus[27], cf.:

(90) Udi, Nizh dialect (Text, 2004)
The moment the car carrying a big barrel is about to leave, the neighbour jumps into the car.
me q:onši... bočk:-in boš ***č:ap:=e=bak-o***
this neighbour barrel-GEN inside **hide=3SG=be-FUTMOD**
'(Then) this neighbour **hides** in the barrel.'

The origin of the Udi Modal Future is not clear, and WOLFGANG SCHULZE even suggests that although a native origin cannot ultimately be ruled out for this form, it is more likely to have been borrowed from some variety of Northwest Iranian (SCHULZE, to appear). Alternatively, the suffix *-o* may reflect the copula **wu*, which in modern Udi exists in the form *bu* (SCHULZE 1982: 159). However, I think that it is possible to relate the Modal Future to the (former) Imperfective participle, for the following reasons. First, the Modal Future is derived from the Imperfective stem of the verb, as can be seen clearly in suppletive verb stems (e.g. cf. *uk:-o* 'will say' vs. *p-e* 'said', or *eʁ-o* 'will come' vs. *har-e* 'came'). So it is highly probable that the original meaning of the form was imperfective. And second, the only Udi morpheme synchronically resembling *-o* is the nominalizing adjective/participle (absolutive singular) marker, cf. *busa* 'hungry' ~ *busa-o* 'a hungry one', or *avabakes* 'to know, to learn' ~ *avabakal-o* 'a knowing person, an expert'. Thus on both formal and semantic grounds I suppose that the Udi Modal Future might have appeared

[27] According to ALICE HARRIS (p.c.), the same use of the Modal Future is found in the fairy tale recorded by her in 1989 in Okt'omberi (representing the Vartashen dialect of Udi).

originally as an instance of the Imperfective Participle Copula pattern (see (MAISAK 2008) for additional discussion).

Finally, in Kryz we see a monosemic Future form based on the Participle pattern; it is the main future tense of the language, with a more neutral meaning as opposed to that of the modalized "éventuel" already discussed.

(91) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 266]

sus	*ʁʷa-jn-i*	*jif-una*	*vun*	***riq'ar-ija***
bride	PV.F-take.PF-PTCP	night-IN	2SG	**die-FUT**

'You **will die** the night you marry.'

(92) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 266]

mad	*lu*	*azar-žikar*	***ʁu-rzar-ida-r:***
again	this	illness-SUB.EL	**PV-stand.up-FUT.NEG-M**

'He **will not recover** from this illness.'

Now, what we see in the examples of the Habitual/Future forms based on the Participle pattern is the same semantic development from general present meaning to habitual and generic, and then to future meaning (see diagram 1). However, it seems that in this case the progressive was never found as an initial stage in the development. The original structure with the participle describes a quality – something like 'X is one who does P' – and not involvement in a dynamic activity as in the case of the 'X is P-ing' construction with the converb. So it is most plausible that forms like Agul *aq'a-f e* or Rutul *haʔa-d i* have never expressed progressive meaning, but originated initially as habitual or general present forms[28].

Similar developments of verb forms based on participles are attested in other East Caucasian languages as well: for example, in Avar the Present Continous consists of the Imperfective Participle and the copula (MALLAEVA 1998: 120–122). In Southern Akhvakh, a language from the Andic group, the same structure is used as the main Future form (CREISSELS 2006), illustrating the transition of the present imperfective to the future. Note also that in the related Andic language Bagwalal the Habitual with possibilitive and epistemic future uses is simply identical to the Imperfective Participle (TATEVOSOV 2005) and thus represents the "habitual to future" evolution of a form which has probably never contained a copula.

[28] Such a development is perfectly admissible in the approach outlined by TATEVOSOV, but poses problems for HASPELMATH's proposal, which relies on independent grammaticalization paths ('progressive' > 'habitual' and 'progressive' > 'future'). In fact, HASPELMATH himself admits the possibility of Habituals originating directly from the participle construction (HASPELMATH 1998: 35, fn.), although he does not seem to consider it relevant for his diachronic scenario.

Language	Meaning label	Main verb form	Copula type	Example
Agul	Habitual / Modal Future	Imperfective Participle	Nominal Copula	*aq'af-e* 'habitually does; (I assume) will do' (< *aq'a-f + e*)
Kryz	Future (main form)	Imperfective Participle	Nominal Copula	*kurac'i-ja* 'will slaughter' (< *kurac'-i + ja*)
Rutul	Habitual (peripheral form)	Imperfective Participle	Nominal Copula	*haʔad i ‖ j-iʔi* 'habitually does' (< *haʔa-d + i ‖ j-iʔi*)
Udi	Modal Future /Generic (+ Narrative)	Imperfective Participle (?)	(no copula)	*bak-o* 'will possibly be' (cf. *-o* adjective/ participle nominalizer)

Table 5: The Participle pattern in the Lezgic languages

6. Conclusions

Beside the present and future tense forms of the Lezgic languages considered in this paper there are many others which have remained beyond its scope. The origin of some of these forms is obscure, and they do not yet belong to the core of tense and aspect systems (for one example cf. the Archaic Future in *-di* in Lezgian). By contrast, other such forms represent new periphrases which are rather transparent structurally and whose meaning is more or less compositional (cf. constructions with the auxiliary 'be, become' in a number of languages, or forms like *aq'ajefe* 'does' in Agul consisting of the Imperfective converb *aq'aj* and the analytic form *ajef-e* with the participle *aje-f* of the locative verb 'be inside').

Nonetheless, by my estimation the overwhelming majority of tenses expressing present or future time reference are covered by the four patterns I have discussed. On the basis of the investigation undertaken above we can thus make generalizations about how the tense and aspect systems of the Lezgic languages are shaped (in this particular domain) and how they have come to be the way they are. We may draw the following generalizations on the prevalent grammaticalization paths for Lezgic Present and Future tenses:

- "New" Presents (Progressives) usually come from a Locative pattern consisting of the Imperfective Converb and the Locative Copula ('is inside doing'), or from a simple "manner model" consisting of the Imperfective Converb and the Copula ('is doing'). These New Presents very soon become General Presents, which seem to be ubiquitous grammatical forms in Nakh-Daghestanian languages.
- Habituals and Generics usually come from a dedicated "quality model" with the Imperfective Participle and the Copula ('has the quality of doing'), or from New Presents via their gradual generalization.

Although the core progressive/continuous use of former General Presents can be lost, the narrative use is relatively stable and often remains, resulting in the 'habitual' + 'narrative' polysemy.

- Futures often appear as a final stage in the evolution of General Presents, via possibilitive meaning ('usually does' > 'is able to do' > 'will possibly do' > 'will do'). There also exists a dedicated "deontic model" for Futures built on the Infinitive or Purposive and the copula, which is rather restricted within the group.

Note that although the paths for the grammaticalization of future tenses are very restricted, the future is on the whole well grammaticalized in the Lezgic languages – an average Lezgic tense and aspect system is rich enough to include a separate Future which does not coincide with the main Present form. In this respect a contrast can be observed with European languages, in which, according to DAHL (2000: 325), "one areal feature of future time reference... can be formulated in negative terms: it tends to be left ungrammaticalized or only partly grammaticalized".

Finally, the data presented in this paper clearly show that there have been many parallel developments of similar grammatical patterns in different Lezgic languages, which certainly comes as no surprise. These parallels can be both structural and etymological at once, when one and the same pattern is used and the marking of the component parts of these patterns is cognate (obviously, this situation is more often found at the group level, affecting e.g. East Lezgic only or Kryz and Budugh only). At the same time, the parallels can be structural only, namely when the patterns are identical but the morphological material (e.g. converb or participle markers) is language-specific. Importantly, there are no patterns common to *all* Lezgic languages – though an exception may be the construction employing the Imperfective converb, which is most widespread within the group (and outside the group as well). As we have seen, there are many similar patterns and grammaticalization paths in other languages of the area, and in many other languages of the world, so in principle these patterns are *not* necessarily to be traced back to the Proto-Lezgic stage. They may be genuinely Proto-Lezgic, but they may not be – given the typological and areal prevalence of such developments, independent origin in more than one language (after the break-up of the proto-language) is quite probable.

On the whole, the modern tense and aspect systems of the Lezgic languages give the impression of being rather "young" (though this is certainly a relative evaluation, given that Proto-Lezgic unity may well date to over 3.5 millennia ago). So far, we do not know what the tense and aspect system of the proto-language was like, and it is not impossible that it was quite different from an average modern Lezgic system.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person
1PLI	first person plural inclusive
1PLE	first person plural exclusive
I, II, III, IV	gender
ABL	ablative
ADV	adverb
ALL	allative
AOR	aorist
ATR	attributive
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
COP	copula
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
EL	elative
ERG	ergative
EVID	evidential
EVT	"éventuel" (verb form)
F	feminine
FUT	future
FUTMOD	modal future
GEN	genitive
H	human
HPL	human plural
IN	localization 'in'
INF	infinitive
IPF	imperfective
LAT	lative
LOCCOP	locative copula
M	masculine
MSD	masdar (verbal noun)
N	neutral
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalization
NPL	non-human plural
PF	perfective
PFCT	perfect/perfective past
PL	plural
POST	localization 'post'
POT	potentialis
PROH	prohibitive
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCL	particle
PTCP	participle
PV	preverb
Q	question
QUOT	quotative
RES	resultative
SEQ	sequential (converb)
SG	singular
STEM	detached part of verb stem
SUB	localization 'sub'
SUPER	localization 'super'

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GILLES AUTHIER (Paris)

From adlocative case to debitive mood without desubordination

Abstract

A finite modal form with debitive meaning is found in both Kryz and Budugh, most often ending in a suffix *-u*, which can be identified with the nominal adlocative case marker. Budugh uses the same form with nominalized, non-finite value, while Kryz does not. This seems to indicate that the grammaticalization process by which a case may come to express modality when added to a verb stem does not necessarily imply a nominalized stage followed by desubordination.

0. Introduction: case on verbs

East Caucasian languages make occasional use of case markers on verb forms to express various sorts of subordination or modality. This is not a rare phenomenon cross-linguistically[1]; but, as noted by AIKHENVALD (2008), nominal and verbal uses of polycategorial morphemes are not described jointly (that is, under a unified heading) in grammars, because their functions are distributed over different chapters dealing with the two different word classes. Even when the identity of the relevant morpheme is in no doubt, one still needs to explain how a nominal function can develop into a verbal category, especially one affecting finite forms. The explanation must be diachronic, and one should take a comparative stance: the traces of the relevant semantic-syntactic drift should be sought and put into perspective by means of their identification in various related languages.

[1] The argument developed in this paper was presented at a conference in Paris in December 2006, before the publication of EVANS (2007) and AIKHENVALD (2008). EVANS applies the term 'insubordination' to the main clause use of what formally look like subordinate clauses; AIKHENVALD gives more examples of 'desubordinated' case-marked verb forms with modal value. These studies have provided further parallels and theoretical elaboration which have nourished my own reflections on the subject, and I have certainly drawn on them in this article, but I remain entirely responsible for all precise facts and conclusions put forward here. I am also grateful to TIMUR MAISAK, ELENA KALININA and YURY LANDER for their useful remarks and discussion.

Linguists working on Australian languages (see BLAKE 1999) have proposed a grammaticalization path – which may be called the 'reanalysis' or 'ellipsis' path – whereby a nominal function (case) becomes a finite mood category on verb forms via subordination. EVANS (2007) and AIKHENVALD (2008) give detailed descriptions of this process, which we may summarise as follows. Case morphemes are sometimes found to occur on verb roots as markers of interclausal relations, i.e. as clause-linkers (analogously to their role as markers of grammatical relations on noun phrases). In a sequence of main and dependent clauses where such a case morpheme is used to mark the dependent clause, certain pragmatic contexts may license the regular ellipsis of the main clause; but once the construction is no longer perceived as elliptical (that is, the ellipsed verb no longer needs to be supplied in order to render the clause grammatical), the morpheme in question is automatically reinterpreted as expressing the particular modality originally borne by the whole construction. Thus, new tense-aspect-mood paradigms emerge in which case morphemes appear as dedicated mood markers. Clausal categories of mood can thus historically originate from cases in their role as clause-linkers.

In Lezgic, case markers, although primarily nominal morphemes indicating the function of a *noun* phrase in a clause, may likewise appear on *verbal* forms, and such 'versatile' cases (AIKHENVALD 2008), as well as expressing various dependency relationships between clauses by way of nominalizations, may also render aspectual or modal meanings on finite forms in a main clause. For example, as I have shown in (AUTHIER 2010), the common Lezgic inessive marker *-a'* is found suffixed to imperfective verb stems to form a simultaneous converb in Rutul, Kryz and Budugh[2]. This converb is the same form as the finite 'eventual' with habitual or non-committal future meanings, found in Kryz and Budugh only. The present article will investigate another such case.

One of the most common semantic correspondences linking instances of a single morpheme as a marker of the function of a noun phrase and as a clause-linking or mood-marking device is that found between a goal- or dative-marking element on noun phrases and an identical purposive mood marker or purposive clause linker in the same language (see HASPELMATH 1989). In Lezgic, the identity of the dative morpheme *-s* with the future marker has long been recognized (see MAISAK, this volume). The morpheme at issue in the following pages has much in common semantically with the dative, but it belongs to the spatial subparadigm and is

[2] Budugh and Kryz form the Southern branch of Lezgic, and are spoken in Azerbaijan only, by at most 200 speakers for Budugh and maybe 2000 fluent speakers for the three distinct dialects of Kryz. Despite generalized bilingualism in Azerbaijani, they preserve typically Daghestanian features. All Kryz forms and examples are from the Alik dialect, for which my main informant is MAJLIS SHAMSEDDINOV; the Budugh data were generously provided by ADIGOEZEL HAJIEV; both are warmly thanked for their invaluable collaboration.

known as the 'adlocative'. It became grammaticalized as an alternative recipient-marking case in two branches (Eastern and Southern) of Lezgic, and in the two languages of the Southern sub-branch (Budugh and Kryz) it provides a debitive mood; in Budugh only, it is also used as a nominalized, infinitive-like form.

The first section gives an overview of the adlocative marker on nominals, from its origins as a spatial adposition to its grammaticalized use as a marker of temporary recipient in ditransitive predicate clauses. The second section presents the imperfective verb forms marked with adlocative case in Budugh and their wide syntactic domain as verbal nouns (masdars) and finite forms (debitives). The third and final section shows that the same form in Kryz bears only finite (debitive) value, a fact which speaks against the 'desubordination', 'disembedding' or 'ellipsis' hypothesis.

1. The Adlocative case in its Lezgic context

Two sets of cases are found in all core Lezgic languages: the grammatical cases and the spatial subparadigm. ALEKSEEV (1997) has offered a reconstruction of the spatial cases which applies for various branches of Daghestanian, and is especially convincing for the languages of the Lezgic branch. Proto-Lezgic seems to have had a system of up to eight 'locative' case markers conventionally labelled with the corresponding Latin prepositions (IN: *-'*; SUB: *-kł'*; POST: *-q$^{(w)}$*; AD: *-kł^{w}*; SUPER: *-l*; INTER: *-q'ʕ*; ANTE: *-h*; and CONT: *-k* for 'in contact with').

These localization markers were reduced to five in Kryz (cf. AUTHIER 2009): IN: *-'*; SUB/CONT: *-k^{y}*; POST>APUD *-χ^{w}*; AD: *-v*; INTER > SUPER: *-ʁˤ*.

Budugh has lost one more spatial case (SUPER) and uses the remainder (IN: *-'*; SUB: *-k*; APUD *-^{w}χ*; AD: *-u*) mostly with syntactic value (concrete localizations are expressed by new postpositions).

The following table gives the five localization markers found in Kryz (four of them shared by Budugh) and their Archi, Agul, Lezgian and Rutul counterparts, along with the reconstructed etyma:

	Proto-Lezgic	Archi	Agul	Lezgian	Rutul	Kryz	Budugh
IN	*-'	-a	-ʔ	-a	-a	-a	-a'
POST/APUD	*-q$^{(w)}$	-q	-q	-q	-q	-χ^{w}	-u/oχ
INTER/SUPER	*-q'ʕ	ø	-ʁˤ/-ʕ	ø	ø	-ʁˤ	ø
SUB	*-kł'	-kł'	-kk	-k	-k	-k	-k
AD	*-ɬ:w	-ɬ:u	-w	-v	-x$^{(w)}$-	-v/u	-u/o

The adlocative is found in all core Lezgic languages plus Archi with its original spatial meaning, but its functional (metaphorical) extension outside the spatial domain varies and is dealt with in the next sub-section.

1.1. Semantic and syntactic range of the adlocative marker in Archi

Archi[3], a language spoken in a single village to the north of the region where all the other languages of the Lezgic branch are found in a compact area, is in many respects one of the most archaic of the Lezgic languages but is usually considered as a genetic outlier. Nevertheless, its case system has much in common with those of the three sub-branches which constitute 'core Lezgic'. It has a case marker *-łłu* displaying a narrow range of meanings: temporary apudessive, along with comitative and instrumental interpretations:

(1) *is* *gel* *halmaχmu-ł:u* *eχ:uli* *i*
my jug(N) friend-COM N.remain.PF N.COP
'My jug remained at my friend's.'

(2) *ł:wak* *u‹w›χ-u-li* *ju-w* *lo*
near‹M›lie.down-PF-CVB this-M lad M.find.PF
χuł:anna-ł:u
woman.OBL-COM
'This lad was lying next to the woman.'

(3) nokł'-a *d-i-t:u-r* *qiri-li-ł:u* *jamu-r* *lo*
house-IN 2-be-ATR-2 old.woman-OBL-COM that-2 girl
'(They) would leave the girl at home with an old woman (to keep her).'

(4) *zari* *k'as:a-ł:u* *akl'* *art'ur-ši* *i*
1.ERG knife-COM meat.N N.cut.IPF-CV N.COP
'I cut the meat with a knife.'

This case, called the 'comitative' by Archi specialists, is related to the adverb and postposition *ł:wa* 'together; with' which can be used redundantly: *załłu łłwa* 'with me'. It is also recognizable as a preverb on a few Archi verbs like the following:

(5) *č'abo-vu* *buc:'o-vi* *ł:oχˤu*
sheep-and cattle-and (PV=with, together)mix.PF
'The sheep and the cattle mingled'.

The Archi comitative obviously continues the localisation marker found in other languages of the Lezgic family, and it is used only with concrete

[3] Archi examples with number references are drawn from the Archi Electronic Corpus of KIBRIK et al.; others are from the online Archi Dictionary of CHUMAKINA et al., checked and revised by MARINA CHUMAKINA.

meaning. In the Western branch of core Lezgic, the adlocative morpheme is a little more elusive, but it should be recognized in the Rutul adlocative marker *-x(di)* and as a base in the comitative markers of both Rutul (*-x^{w}an*) and Tsakhur (*-kan*). Thus its semantic spectrum is similar to that seen in Archi. In other core Lezgic languages, this marker has another syntactic value (recipient marking) which should be considered as a common innovation.

1.2. The Adlocative and differential recipient marking

Many Daghestanian languages show a rare syntactic phenomenon called 'split Recipient alignment' or 'differential recipient marking'. According to DANIEL et al. (2010) the extreme elaboration of space semantics in these languages accounts for the grammaticalization of this phenomenon. Goal distinctions are numerous enough to afford to use one of them for a special semantic type of recipient, and

> '[G]ive'-verbs in the languages of the East Caucasian family distinguish between two types of transfer by breaking down the Recipient role into two case-marking strategies which are called dative and lative, respectively, where other languages make lexical distinctions ('give' vs. 'lend'). Dative vs. lative Recipients contrast 'give forever, offer' vs. 'give for a while, lend to someone, hand' types of situations, respectively [...] (DANIEL et al. 2010).

The adlocative case has extended its functional value to non-permanent recipient marking in two branches of core Lezgic: Eastern and Southern. We now address this phenomenon as manifested in one dialect of Lezgian (from the Eastern branch) and in Kryz and Budugh (the two languages constituting the Southern branch).

In the Lezgian dialects of Azerbaijan, the adlocative case is used as a spatial essive or lative case (we call this syncretism 'locative'), usually with verbs showing historically related preverbs[4]. It is also found with the locational copula *gwa* 'be close', which is also based on the morpheme **łłw-*:

(6) *ima-n* *qač:q:an.di-v* *agat-na*
3-and cauldron-AD approach-SEQ
'He came close to the cauldron.'

(7) *dana-ar.i-v* *gwaa* *danarqan*
calf-PL-AD be.at.PART calf.breeder
'A calf breeder who was tending the calves.'

[4] The Lezgian data are from BABALIYEVA (2007). In literary Lezgian this concrete notion is usually expressed by the postposition *p:at:av* 'near', which is itself the Adessive form of a noun originally meaning 'flank', cf. HASPELMATH 1993.

(8) *röχ* *aždahan.di-v* *gwaadja*
mill dragon-AD be.at.CONSTAT
'The mill is [now] occupied by a dragon.'

Secondarily, the Lezgian adlocative denotes a non-permanent recipient governed by verbs such as *vigun* 'give (not permanently)' or *vaχk:un* < **va-χ-gun* 'give back', which in fact show the same adessive morpheme frozen as a preverb:

(9) *k:ul* *viga-na* *in* *p:up:a* *ruš.a-v*
broom give-AOR this woman.ERG girl-AD
'This woman gave the broom to the girl.'

(10) *dokument-ar* *vaχk:a-na* *jesi.di-v*
document-PL give.back-AOR owner-AD
'He gave back the documents to their owner.'

In contrast, the beneficiary of permanent transfer verbs like *gun* 'give (permanently)' is expressed by the dative case in *-z* (note the absence of a preverb):

(11) *va-z* *ada* *q:izil-ar* *p:ara* *ga-na*
2-DAT 3.ERG gold-PL much give-AOR
'He gave you too many gold coins.'

In Southern Lezgic, preverbs are alive and well, and the preverb corresponding to the adlocative marker is one of them. In Kryz, the adlocative case correlates with the preverb *va-*, which retains its original spatial meaning of Adessive or Allative:

(12) *vul-be-r* *q'il* *q'ali-v* *va-j-ǯi* *q:a-lt'al-e*
sheep-PL-ERG head head-AD PV-lean-SEQ PV-stay-PRS
'The sheep stand with their heads leaning against each other.'

As in Lezgian, the Kryz Adlocative case is also used for temporary Recipients: the same verb *vujic* 'give' denotes permanent transfer of possession with the dative marking in *-z* and non-permanent transfer of possession with the adlocative case in *-v*:

(13) *div.ul-ir* *sa-d* *šuša* *q:ari-v* */ q:ari-z* *vuts'-re*
demon-ERG one-N bottle old.wife-AD / old.wife-DAT give-PRS
'The demon lends/gives a bottle to the old woman.'

In Budugh, which is closely related to Kryz, the Adlocative case has not lost its concrete value, either essive or lative:

(14) *furi* *k'ul-ǯo* *čaʁar-da*
man.NOM house-AD go.IPF-WHEN
'When the man was nearing the house...'

Recipient marking in Budugh also uses the Adlocative for non-permanent transfer:

(15) *q:unši-žir* *ʕažʁan* *Ma'lla'-žu* *jùts'u-ri*
neighbour cauldron Mullah-AD give-PRS
'The neighbour lends a cauldron to Mullah.'

2. Adlocative marking on verbs and the Budugh 'masdar'

The grammaticalization of an oriented spatial case or 'allative' as a variant of the dative is a common development allowing the expression of purposive meaning on verbs: Indo-European infinitive formants are famously linked to the dative or locative and accusative-allative case markers *-(e)i* and *-m* (see VANSÉVEREN 1998). The generalized dative itself is very often found as an abstract function of a concrete allative case, as in Germanic or Romance languages, and is used with verbs to express purpose. While dative marking is found on verb forms in all branches of Lezgic, the grammaticalization of the adlocative marker examined on nominals in the preceding section seems much more recent: it is found on verbs in only one branch of Lezgic, the Southern branch, comprising the languages Kryz and Budugh.

In the following section, adlocative case marking in Budugh is shown not to be restricted to noun phrases, as it affects verbs in both subordinate and (modal) main clauses. Verbs are cast in this case frame as the purposive or nominative complements of other predicates.

2.1. A transitivity-sensitive morphology

In most Lezgic languages, aspect is marked by vocalic or sonorant morphemes prefixed or suffixed to a single root consonant, and all forms, finite (tense-aspect-mood-marked) or non-finite, belong to one of two aspectual stems. Aspectual derivation is most intricate and archaic in Archi and in the Western and Southern branches, but in the Southern branch this complexity is compensated for by the fact that morphological features associated with valency properties give rise to regular verb classes.

Morphosyntactically, the Budugh masdar is an imperfective verbal noun; its morphological shape is linked with valency properties in order to create very predictible and neat classes of verb stems. The syntax of the masdar is typical for a verbal noun: it serves in complement clauses as a sort of infinitive, and can also be inflected for case.

Almost all Budugh *intransitive* verbs have an imperfective stem marked with a suffix *-aR*[5] (R = *r*, *l* or *n*), for instance:

	Masdar/IPF Participle
'sit'	*alq'-ál*
'wrestle'	*anχ-án*
'hang, intr.'	*anχ-án*
'go'	*čaʁ-ár*

Budugh transitive (causative) verbs derived from intransitives end in *-i* (the trace of an incorporated verb 'do'[6]):

	Masdar/IPF Participle
'bring' < 'make go'	*čiʁ-í*
'make sit'	*elq'-í*
'do'	*si-'í*

In contrast, the form of the masdar in the class of non-causative transitive verbs looks like a case-marked form. Non-derived, transitive verbs have the suffix *-u*, which can easily be identified with the adlocative case marker, since the form serves as a non-finite, verb-dependent verbal noun, a semantic and syntactic configuration which points to dative-like case marking. A closer look at the internal structure of these transitive imperfective stems ending in *-u* allows us to draw two further dividing lines between two morphological sub-classes.

One large sub-class of transitive imperfective verb stems ends in *-u* immediately following the root consonant, which can – but need not – be preceded by a preradical sonorant aspect marker (contrast the left and right columns). Note that in most masdar forms ending in *-u*, vowel harmony blurs the morpheme boundary:

	Masdar/IPF Participle		Masdar/IPF Participle
'beat'	*at-ú*	'kill'	*art'-ú*
'plough'	*suz-ú* < **si-z-u*	'slay'	*sork-ú* < **sa-r-k-u*
'say'	*juʔ-ú* < **ji-'-u*	'catch'	*surq-ú* < **si-r-q-u*
'milk'	*soz-ú* < **sa-z-u*	'hang, tr.'	*ʕanχ-ú*
'strike'	*qːut-ú* < **qːi-t-u*	'draw'	*jun-ú* < **ji-n-ɣ-u*
'mow'	*sux-ú* < **si-x-u*	'yoke'	*čilt'-ú* < **či-l-t'-u*

These transitive verbs form their finite imperfective tenses and moods by appending suffixes to this stem in a perfectly invariant manner:

	Masdar/IPF Participle	Progressive Indicative
'beat'	*at-ú*	*àtu-ra'vi*
'milk'	*soz-ú*	*sòzu-ra'vi*

[5] Originally a detransitive marker, shared with Kryz, cf. AUTHIER (2010).
[6] For more details on the internal structure of Budugh verb stems, cf. AUTHIER (2009); on Budugh synthetic causatives cf. AUTHIER (in press).

A smaller sub-class of transitive imperfective stems is the most important for our demonstration. Nominalized forms in this sub-class (masdar & participle) clearly display the inflectional morpheme *-u*, whereas further tense-aspect-mood suffixes are added to a non-autonomous radical *without -u* (though labial-harmonic vocalism is analogically retained on the root):

	Masdar/IPF Participle	Progressive
'take'	*q:on-ú* < **q:a-n-u*	*q:òn-a'vi*
'ask, borrow'	*vošul-ú* < **va-ši-l-u*	*vòšul-a'vi*
'eat'	*soɬul-ú* < **sa-gvi-l-u*	*sòɬul-a'vi*
'drink'	*soʁur-ú* < **sa-ʁi-r-u*	*sòʁur-a'vi*

In (16), the Future form *vòšul-i* consists of the stem of this masdar with the suffix *-i* (< the standard copula):

(16) *zovon* *soɬul-ú* *vòšul-i*
1.ADR eat-MSD ask-FUT
'(They) will ask me for food.'

The masdar forms are derived from the imperfective stem by the adlocative marker *-u* in very much the same way as the corresponding infinitives are built on the perfective stem followed by the dative case marker *-(i)z.* The two purposive forms using the two case markers Dative and Adlocative are consequently distinguished by *aspect*.

	Masdar < IPF+Adlocative	Infinitive < PF+Dative
'drink'	*soʁur-u* < **sa-ʁi-r-u*	*saʁr-iz*
'take'	*q:on-ú* < **q:a-n-u*	*q:ejn-iz*
'eat'	*soɬul-ú* < **sa-gvi-l-u*	*saɬal-iz*
'ask, borrow'	*vošul-u* < **va-ši-l-u*	*vaxa-z*
'catch'	*surq-ú* < **si-r-q-u*	*siqr-iz*
'beat'	*at-ú*	*ata-z*
'say'	*juʔ-ú* < **ji-'-u*	*jɨpa-z*
'milk'	*soz-ú* < **sa-z-u*	*saza-z*

Additionally, one can assume that aspectuality was a determining factor in the distribution of the two case markers in purposive function: dative case refers to permanent transfer and goes with perfective aspect, while adlocative case refers to non-permanent transfer and implies that the event is viewed with internal structure (back-and-forth movement), that is, in its imperfective aspect.

The fact that *all* underived transitive imperfective stems (except for 'do') end in the vowel *-u* in the nominative form of the masdar is best explained if we suppose that these are originally case-inflected purposive forms. (Recall that, by contrast, intransitive and causative verbs derived from a periphrasis with 'do' have a masdar consisting of the unmarked imperfective stem).

In Budugh masdars and debitives, the adlocative case marker attaches to the verb stem only if the verb is an underived transitive. Otherwise

(that is, if the verb is intransitive or a morphological causative, or one of a few others) the bare stem is used. As in English, where infinitives are marked or not by the lative/dative marker 'to', imperfective infinitives in Budugh are either unmarked nominatives (intransitive and causative classes) or adlocative case-marked; the former category later acquired a purposive interpretation by analogy, while the latter acquired a nominative interpretation, also by analogy.

2.2. Uses of the Budugh masdar in complementation

All three nominalized verb forms (unmarked nominative imperfective, adlocative-marked imperfective and dative-marked perfective) are used as complements of verbs, but only the masdar became a verbal noun which could be inflected further, for the following reasons:

- in two substantial verb classes (all intransitives and causatives) the masdar is unmarked for case, thus presenting a free slot for case marking;
- while the original purposive value of the masdar is recognizable from the adlocative case ending *-u* (on the majority of verbs, namely the entire underived transitive class), most of these forms have developed vowel harmony and blurred the morpheme boundary. The vocalic ending /u/ thus became a suprasegmental feature, no longer affixal and easily confused with another origin for the same labial feature ('animate gender' marking, which was originally infixed between the preverb and the root consonant). The form ending in *-u* was then understood and used *either* as a purposive *or* as an uninflected – that is, nominative – nominalized form[7], when embedded in S or P function, and secondarily received other case markers if used in other functions;
- conversely, since the majority of verbs (the entire underived transitive class) had one form for Single argument, Patient (Object), and purposive functions, other classes of verbs with unmarked (ø ending) masdar forms came to use the masdar both as nominative argument *and with purposive* adjunct value, in a kind of functional indeterminacy found commonly with infinitives in more familiar European languages.

Let us now turn to some examples in context.

[7] The drift from purposive adjunct meaning to direct argument-marking 'infinitive' or verbal noun is certainly trivial. Note also that unlike the perfective dative-marked form in *-z*, the imperfective 'infinitive' has become a real verbal noun, also called 'masdar' in descriptions of East Caucasian languages, i.e. a verbal noun which inflects for most of the cases available in Budugh declension, allowing a large range of argument-like (in the Ergative or Nominative/Absolutive cases) or oblique complementation.

2.2.1. Raising and absence of raising with controlling verbs

Unlike substantive nouns, when subordinated to verbs like 'finish', 'stop', 'manage', 'know (how)', 'see' and 'want'[8] the masdar does not always trigger neutral (abstract noun) agreement on the control verb. Instead, this very often agrees with the S/P argument of the masdar, as an instance of 'raising'. This is expected when the masdar ends in *-u*, because originally this form was not a nominative, agreement-triggering form, but rather part of a complex predicate:

(17) *k'ul-ža* *barχuda'-žɨz* *u-žber* *aborot'-ú* *jìbka-ži*
house-IN master-DAT 3-HPL.NOM HPL.kill-MSD HPL.want-PERF
'The master of the house wants to kill them.'

(18) *zo* *riž* *ug-u* *duχoruz* *q:orun-ú* *jìrka-žni*
1.AD girl self-AD son.DAT F.take-MSD F.want-PERF.PST
'He wanted to take my daughter for his son.'

(19) *ma'lla'-žíz* *lem* *q:uvot-ú* *hàvats'ar-da-b*
Mullah-DAT donkey A.beat-MSD A.know-NEG.PRS-A
'Mullah doesn't know how to beat the donkey.'

By analogy, the same raising phenomenon may apply with causative masdars and verbal locutions involving the verb 'do', which is non-case-marked, because these are felt as typical parts of complex predicates:

(20) *u-n-uz* *yin* *yuχlemi* *sib?i* *yɨbka-ži*
PROX-H-DAT 1PL trying HPL.do.MSD HPL.want-PERF
'He wants to try us.'

But with *intransitive*, non-case-marked masdars, no raising phenomenon is found. These are always felt as clause-heading predicates because they are unmarked verb forms, and as such trigger *nominative* agreement (in the following example, the verb 'want' takes neutral, unmarked agreement rather than human plural agreement):

(21) *ye-z* *q:àbčabʁar* *yɨka-ži* / **yɨbka-ži*
1PL-DAT HPL.leave.IPF(MSD) want-PERF *HPL.want-PERF
'We want/have to go.'

Conversely, case-marked masdars in *-u* can also control *neuter* agreement on controlling verbs. We are then dealing with embedding in nominative function. The *absence* of raising, which was to be expected with etymologically unmarked masdars, was extended by analogy with intransitive and causative verbs. Thus the absence of raising is also possible with transitive masdars ending in *-u*, because this morpheme has now lost its

[8] With 'want' and 'know (how to...)' the subject is found in the dative case in *-z*.

proper case-marking function and the form can take up the syntactic position of a nominative (unmarked), agreement-triggering abstract noun[9]:

(22) *ve ada-z vɨn žam-ɨz yurts'-u yɨka-ži*
2PL father-DAT 2(F) bridegroom-DAT F.give-MSD N.want-PERF
'Your father wants to marry you off.'

(23) *ve-z jin abort'-ú jɨka-ži*
2PL-DAT 1PL HPL.kill-MSD(N) N.want-PERF
'You want to kill us...'

(24) *bišq'ab-ža soʕul-ú èje-ži*
plate-IN eat-MSD N.put-PERF
'He put food (lit. 'to eat') on a plate.'

(25) *boʕlu rij-ez köduχ q'aχuts'-u četin-i*
big girl-DAT son-in-law find-MSD difficult-COP
'It is difficult to find a son-in-law for the older daughter.'

2.2.2. Nominative complementation

The forms in *-u* came to be interpreted as uninflected, or 'nominative' like those ending in *-i* or *-Ø* in nominal predicates such as:

(26) *sordobut' vodo'-ú č'ov-i*
berries PV.gather-MSD enough-COP
'Enough of gathering berries!'

(27) *dard q:aq-u ʕari-vi,*
worry PV.N.tell-MSD good-COP
'It is good to talk about one's worries.'

(28) *a-ž židir si-ʔi haram-i*
3-NOM.N hidden PV.N-do.MSD forbidden-COP
'It is bad to steal it.'

2.2.3. Dative inflected purposive masdars

Once flagged as nominative forms, masdars of any type can be inflected and can reactivate purposive meaning by creating forms in the dative case with *-z*. These may depend on a verb:

(29) *gerek vɨn k'ul-ža χal-a' q:us-u-jiz aʁajoχun*
NEED 2 house-IN house-IN cover-MSD-DAT wood.DIR
čaʁar,
M.go.DEB
'You have to go for wood to cover the roof.'

[9] In fact it becomes a marker of transitivity, in equipollent relation with *-aR*, for instance in pairs like *ʕanχ-u/ʕanχ-an* 'hang tr.'/hang, intr.'.

an adjective (in this example, the plural agreement triggered by *q:ušun* 'army' is semantic on the masdar and grammatical on the auxiliary):

(30) *q:ušun* *čabʁar-ǯiz* *ħazir* *saxa.*
army.N/HPL HPL.go.MSD-DAT ready N.be.OPT
'The army should be ready (for them) to go.'

and even a noun, as in the following example, in which the masdar is inflected for dative case and depends on the following noun:

(31) *a-d* *ʃalq'ol-ǯuz* *k'ul* *yuko-ǯi.*
DIST-NOM.A A.sleep.MSD-DAT house.A A.want-PERF
'She wants a place (for her) to sleep.

This shows that masdars, for all their morphological heterogeneity, form a syntactic category not clearly marked for purposivity, even those which are marked for it etymologically. These dative-marked masdars are imperfective counterparts of dative-inflected (perfective) infinitives:

(32) *vin* *gerek* *jiχda'* *ǯiga'-ǯa* *ʃasil-iz* *čàʁar!*
2 NEED far place-IN M.walk.INF-DAT M.go.DEB
'You have to go and explore faraway countries.'

2.2.4. From noun-dependent purposive masdars to prospective participles

All masdars – not only those with an original adlocative-marked ending in *-u* – may also be used as preposed complements of nouns, thus giving rise to the *imperfective participle* with a basically prospective or merely 'virtual' value:

(33) *q:uš-ulur* *dan* *soʃul-ú* *vaχt-i.*
bird-ERG corn eat-IPF.PART time-COP
'It is time for the bird to eat corn.'

(34) *k'ul-ǯa* *χal-a'* *čuraq'ar* *aʁaǯ* *q'aχw!*
house-IN roof-IN N.reach.IPF(PART) wood.N N.find.IMP
'Find enough wood to build the roof of the house!'

(35) *a-d* *[xin* *sux-ú* *ǯiga'-ǯa]* *(= vuq'-a)* *q'àχuts'u-ri.*
3-M grass mow-IPF.PART/MSD place-IN meadow-IN PV.N.find-PRS
'They find him at the place for grass-mowing (= the meadow).'

(36) *heǯ-ir* *ʃodoχ-ú* *k'ul*
woman-ERG NEG.A.demolish-IPF.PART house.A
'A house which a woman does not destroy (will stand for ever)...'

(37) *č'uval* *ʃovoq-u* *q'örü*
sheep A.keep.IPF-PART shepherd
'a shepherd tending the sheep'

These forms can be used without a head noun as substantivized participles, mainly in the nominative case. They are often lexicalized:

(38) *xad* *juts'-u-ndari* *zo* *baʁ* *xad-siz*
water give-IPF.PART-HPL.ERG 1.AD garden water-without
eve-ǯi
A.put-PERF
'The water-providers have left my garden without water.'

(39) *filan* *šeher-že* *sa-r* *aza'n* *juts'-ú-vi*
certain city-IN one-M call.to.prayer give-IPF.PART-COP
'In a certain city there is a ('call-to-prayer-giver' =) muezzin.'

2.3. The debitive mood: a desubordinated masdar?

When the masdar is marked for adlocative case, the grammaticalization of lative into purposive finds a good parallel in related languages and elsewhere in the grammaticalization of dative into hortative and future meaning[10]. Similarly, the adlocative case was used in Budugh on transitive verb stems with purposive value to create an imperfective infinitive (the masdar), and the Budugh debitive mood seems to have emerged from desubordinated masdars – prosodically modified – since the two forms are always homonymous. The debitive mood, used as a finite predicate in both independent and dependent clauses, bears a falling accent on the first syllable, while the oxytonic variant is a verbal noun or 'masdar'. This is in fact rather common cross-linguistically, but rarely as systematically as in Budugh. EVANS (2007: 401) describes the process in the following manner:

> A number of languages use insubordinated clauses to express various deontic meanings. In Latin, Italian, French, etc., the independent subjunctive can have a hortative meaning, while in several Baltic languages necessity is expressed by 'debitive' verbal nouns or infinitives.

2.3.1. Deontic and purposive modalities

Deontic modalities[11] in general are often expressed by bound morphemes in the Eurasian area, and nuances of the optative domain are especially rich in the languages of the Caucasus. These moods denote either the wish of the speaker with or without any commitment to act by himself

[10] In Lezgic languages, the inherited dative marker *-s* is used on verbs to produce purposive forms and infinitives, and the purposive form has become a future tense in languages such as Rutul or Tsakhur (see MAISAK, this volume, and AUTHIER, to appear).
[11] We opt for this general term to qualify a general modal category of 'wanting' spanning all nuances of the English verb 'want'.

(injunctive and optative[12]), or the awareness of an external necessity or moral obligation (debitive). Thus Azerbaijani has not two but three deontic paradigms. These are as regular as the rest of the verbal inflection. All are met in subordination as dependents of volition predicates. (Note that the Azerbaijani optative paradigm is built on a verb stem ending with the dative case marker *a/ə*[13]):

	Injunctive	Optative	Debitive
1	*ged-im*	*ged-əm*	*ged-məli-yəm*
2	*get*	*ged-ə-sən*	*ged-məli-sən*
3	*get-sin*	*ged-ə*	*ged-məli*
1PL	*(ø, ged-ək <=*	*ged-ə-k*	*ged-məli-yik*
2PL	*ged-in*	*ged-ə-siz*	*ged-məli-siz*
3PL	*get-sinlər*	*ged-ə-lər*	*ged-məli-lər*

Note that in the 1st person plural the injunctive borrows its form from the optative.

2.3.2. The prosodic finiteness marking of Budugh verbs

Kryz and Budugh also have three paradigms of deontic moods, but these are morphologically quite different from European conjugations. Only the injunctive has clear distinctions according to the person of the 'subject' (= Single or Agentive argument).

	Injunctive 'slay' (P: M.SG)	Injunctive 'be'	Injunctive 'go'
1	*sekirden*	*saxadan*	*vičden*
2	*sekir*	*sax*	*vič*
3	*sekire*	*saxa*	*vixe*
1PL	*sekirden*	*sabkadan*	*vibkeden*
2PL	*sekirde*	*sabkada*	*vičde*
3PL	*sekire*	*sabka*	*vibke*

Optative and debitive are only inflected for gender and number agreement with the Single or Patientive argument. Optative forms are either homophonous with the perfective participle or derived from the second person injunctive (imperative) with an open vowel *-a/e*:

Optative 'slay'	Optative = PF Participle 'be'	Optative 'go'
sekir-e	*saxa*	*vixe*

But what is of interest for the present discussion is the consistent and exceptionless homophony of the Budugh debitive, a finite form, with the masdar, a non-finite form, as in the following examples:

Debitive = MSD 'slay'	Debitive = MSD 'be'	Debitive = MSD 'go'
sorku	*yɨxar*	*čaʁar*

[12] There is in fact an additional temporal nuance in the first person: *gerek gedim* is a wish with present time reference, while *gerek gedəm* is a wish for the future.
[13] On the origin of Turkic optatives as dative-marked forms, see AUTHIER (in press).

As in Azerbaijani, injunctive forms can sometimes be clause-linking (subjunctive) moods with only weak desiderative value, and appear in the same contexts as optative or debitive forms. So the link, or the grammaticalization path, between non-finite nominalized forms and deontic finite forms might simply involve ellipsis, at least in Budugh, along with prosodic adaptation.

2.3.3. Prosodic morphological marking of the debitive

In AUTHIER (in press) I have shown that Budugh imperfective stems have two syntactic uses distinguished by prosody only: as the verbal noun or adjective (masdar/participle) and as the finite debitive mood. These forms are used either as predicates of independent clauses or as embedded, nominalized predicates according to the position and quality of stress (falling or rising):

	Masdar/Imperfective Participle	Debitive Mood
'slay'	*sork-ú*	*sòrk-u*
'beat'	*at-ú*	*àt-u*
'hang' tr.	*ʃanχ-ú*	*ʃànχ-u*
'kill'	*art'-ú*	*àrt'-u*
'yoke'	*čilt'-ú* < **čilt'-u*	*čìlt'-u*
'draw'	*yun-ú* < **yinɣ-u*	*yùn-u*
'slay'	*sork-ú* <**sark-u*	*sòrk-u*
'strike'	*q:ut-ú* < **q:it-u*	*q:ùt-u*
'catch'	*surq-ú* < **sirq-u*	*sùrq-u*
'plough'	*suz-ú* < **siz-u*	*sùz-u*
'mow'	*sux-ú* < **six-u*	*sùx-u*
'give'	*yuts'-ú* < **yits'-u*	*yùts'-u*
'say'	*yuʔ-ú* < **yiʔ-u*	*yùʔ-u*
'milk'	*soz-ú* < **saz-u*	*sòz-u*
'take'	*q:on-ú* < **q:an-u*	*q:òn-u*
'borrow'	*vošul-ú* < **vašil-u*	*vòšul-u*
'eat'	*soɬul-ú* < **saɬvil-u*	*sòɬul-u*
'drink'	*soʁur-ú* < **saʁir-u*	*sòʁur-u*

2.3.4. Syntax of the debitive form

The debitive expresses obligation. This additional modal meaning may be conveyed by the adlocative ending *-u* on transitive verbs, while it must have been extended by analogy to all other imperfective verb stems which possess no ending.

2.3.4.1. Independent debitive

I give a couple of examples of transitive imperfective verb stems marked by the adlocative with debitive function:

(40)	*k'ik'en*	*boʃlu*	*rij-ez*	*köduχ*	*q'àχuts'-u*
	first	big	girl-DAT	son-in-law	M.find-DEB

'One must find a son-in-law for the older daughter first.'

(41) *za'a-ǯber* *ǯam-ɨz* *yùbts'-u*
1.ERG.DIST-HPL.NOM bridegroom-DAT HPL.give.DEB
'I have to marry them off.'

Compare this with the imperative (based on a different stem):

(42) *vɨn* *a-dɨr* *sunǯu* *ka'sib-ǯu* *duχoruz* *jùrtu*
2 3-F one.OBL poor-AD son.DAT F.give.IMP
'Then marry her off to the son of a poor person.'

2.3.4.2. Semi-dependent debitive? The particle gerek

The debitive is often found with the particle *gerek*, which is a loan from Azerbaijani, in combination with any sort of masdar.

Transitive masdars in *-u*

(43) *(gerek)* *zɨn* *ulu* *kɨda* *za'va'* *q:ùroʁ-u*
NEED 1 this work 1.ERG.2.IN entrust-DEB
'I should entrust this task to you.'

(44) *hulu* *saʃat* *gerek* *vɨn* *a-d* *q'àχuts'-u.*
this hour NEED 2 DIST-M M.find-DEB
'You have to find him right now.'

(45) *gada* *gerek* *dünja-ǯa* *ɨdankan,* *a-d* *gerek*
boy NEED world-IN M.NEG.remain.DEB DIST-M NEED
ʃànχ-u
hang-DEB
'The boy cannot remain alive, he must be hanged.'

Intransitive masdars with no ending:

(46) *gerek* *duz* *jɨts'ɨ-b* *mana't* *jùxor.*
NEED exactly ten-A manat(A) A.be.DEB
'It has to be exactly ten manats.'

(47) *gerek* *haşke* *saxa-n* *şa'riʃat-ǯekir* *ħàraq'ar.*
NEED whatever N.be.OPT-FOC shariat-SUBEL M.talk.DEB
'(You) should say something about the shariat.'

Causative masdars in *-i* and the verb 'do':

(48) *vɨn* *ɨzga-n-ɨkir* *gerek* *jin* *q:orumi* *sìʔi.*
2 other-H-SUBEL NEED 1PL protecting M.do(DEB)
'We should protect you from others.'

The use of *gerek* is not a criterion for non-finiteness, because it is optional, and because the stress on the verb form remains initial and falling.

Additionally, in Budugh (though not in Kryz, see below) this particle is also found with injunctive and optative forms, which are even more clearly finite (they are never found functioning as arguments or relative clauses, or adjuncts):

(49) *vin vičde, gerek kačal zɨn-zaz zɨn àrot'-u (/ àt'u-dan)*
2PL go.IMP.PL NEED bald 1-1.DAT 1 M.kill-DEB M.kill-HORT
'You go, I have (/want) to kill the bald man myself.'

(50) *gerek zo bada dard doru sa-r idmi q:ùʁo-da.*
NEED 1.AD near worry NEG.M.PART one-M person bring-IMP.PL
'You must bring a man without worries.'

(51) *a-ndarɨ jɨpa č'el-iber gerek juχlami sìʔir-e*
DIST-HPL.ERG say.PF.PART word-PL NEED checking do-OPT
'One must check their words.'

Note also that in some rare instances, the Budugh debitive form with *gerek* has not prescriptive but predictive value:

(52) *gerek xɨn sudòx-u, lem gerek mɨz ùnkon.*
NEED grass NEG.mow-DEB donkey NEED hungry A.remain.DEB
'He will be incapable of mowing the grass, and the donkey will have to stay hungry.'

2.3.4.3. Deliberative debitive in (rhetorical) questions

Obligative modality can also be questioned. Thus the debitive mood can be used in deliberative independent questions:

(53) *zɨn za' dard hanɨz q:àq-u?*
1 1.IN worry who.DAT N.tell-DEB
'To whom should I tell my worries?'

(54) *ma' ivez ši inša'llah jù'-u?...*
then this.DAT what inshallah say-MSD
'Why should one say Inshallah for this?'

2.3.4.4. Dependent debitive in indirect questions

Obligative questions can also depend on a verb. The verb heading the clause, if morphologically marked by final (nominal) stress, must be placed before the controlling verb, like any complement in a language with basic SOV constituent order:

(55) *je-z ts'eʃ (šɨma) sork-ú hàvats'ar-da-b*
1PL-DAT goat how (A.)slay-DEB A.know-NEGPRS-A
'We do not know how to slay a goat.'

But the subordinate verb may also be postposed to the main verb. Since this main verb is finite, it is felt as *final* – signalling the end of a sentence – and thus the non-finite form tends to become 'stranded' and forcibly acquires syntactic autonomy. The masdar then shifts its rising final stress to the initial falling stress typical of finite forms, thus becoming a *debitive*:

(56) *je-z* *ts'eʃ* *havats'ar-da-b (:)* *šɨma* *sork-ú?*
1PL-DAT goat A.know-PRS.NEG-A how (A.)slay-MSD
'We do not know how a goat should be slain.'

(57) *ts'eʃ* *halma* *sòrk-u!*
goat this.way slay-DEB
'A goat should be slain this way!'

The preceding examples have shown the close similarity between the masdar and the finite debitive mood for a transitive verb with the *-u* ending. Likewise, intransitive and causative verbs, as well as the verb 'do', have a debitive unmarked for adlocative case, that is, identical with the masdar forms but for the stress shift:

Agreement	Masdar	Debitive
'sit'		
M/N/NPL/F	*alq'ál*	*àlq'al*
A	*olq'ól*	*òlq'ol*
HPL	*abalq'ál*	*àbalq'al*
'bring' < 'make go'		
M/N/NPL	*čiʁí*	*čìʁi*
F	*čirʁí*	*čírʁi*
A	*čüʁű*	*čǜʁü*
HPL	*čibʁí*	*čìbʁi*
seat < 'make sit'		
M/N/NPL/F	*elq'í*	*èlq'i*
A	*ölq'ű*	*ölq'ü*
HPL	*ebelq'í*	*èbelq'i*
'do'		
M/N/NPL	*siʔí*	*sìʔi*
F	*sirʔí*	*sìrʔi*
A	*süʔű*	*sǜʔü*
HPL	*sibʔí*	*sìbʔi*

It seems that analogy has extended both the embedded (subordinate) and the independent (sentence-final) use with modal 'debitive' value to all imperfective stems, including those which do not end in *-u*:

(58) *padšah-ǯo* *idmer* *gerek* *ʃaq'allu* *yìbkar*
king-AD person.PL NEED clever HPL.be.DEB
'The king's men should be intelligent.'

(59) *vɨn* *gerek* *jɨχta'* *ǯɨga'-ǯa* *čàʁar,*
2 NEED faraway place-IN M.go.DEB
'You have to go and see faraway places.'

(60) *ʃali-z* *jɨka-ǯi* *ki,* *meʃlim-ǯir* *ug*
Ali-DAT N.want-PERF KI teacher-ERG self
k'ensènχi
forget.CAUS(DEB)
'Ali wants his teacher to forget him.'

Note that Budugh also has an obligative periphrastic form consisting of the masdar form followed by the enclitic copula. An alternative explanation for the use of the same form with both non-finite and finite value could therefore be that the predicative use of the masdar as a debitive participle with the copula present is also possible when the copula is absent, provided that the rising stress shifts to the first syllable and becomes falling:

(61) *zɨn* *a-novon* *sa-d* *č'el* *juʔ-ú-vi /* *jùʔ-u*
1 3-H.ADR one-N word tell-IPF.PART-COP tell-DEB
'I have something to tell him.'

3. The debitive mood in Kryz

Although the Budugh data seem to fit the desubordinating scenario very well, the possibility that we are dealing with the results of desubordination in South Lezgic is not corroborated by the Kryz data (see AUTHIER 2009). In Kryz, the same 'debitive' form also exists, but it is never used as a non-finite form.

As can be seen in the following Kryz example, the debitive in Kryz is an 'imperfective optative' as in Budugh:

(62) *šitaʃar* *ǯudur* *v-ar-dam* *ki* *a-n-van* *an* *duru*
how hidden F-do-HORT1 ki 3-H-ADR AN lie
lidip-dam *vun* *an* *saʁ* *iunkan-u*
NEG.say-HORT1 2 AN safe F.remain-DEB
'How could I (as I wish) hide you and not lie, so that you would remain safe?'

But the aspectual distinction seems to be reinterpreted here in terms of a difference in the illocutionary force and directness of the inducement, creating an opposition between 'strong' and 'weak' optatives[14]. Compare the two moods or aspects in the following examples:

(63) *šiš-ri* *iuru* *xi-jizkarta* *ìnkan-u /* *≠ ìdkn-i !*
skewer-PL red be-until remain-DEB N.remain-OPT
'The skewers have to remain until they are red.' ≠ 'Let the skewers remain until they are red!'

[14] For the distinction between weak and strong optatives, see DOBRUSHINA (this volume).

(64) *čam* *kulga.ǯ-ik* *asik* *ki* *jìdits'r-i /* *jìdirts'ar-u*
butter shade-SUB put.IMP ki NEG.melt-OPT NEG.melt-DEB
'Put the butter in the shade so it doesn't melt/so it isn't likely to melt.'

3.1. Morphology of the Kryz debitive

Morphologically, the Kryz debitive combines the imperfective base and a suffix *-u* on almost *all* verbs, not only transitive ones. Nearly all intransitive verbs form their debitive form with the same suffix as the transitives:

Transitive Debitive	Intransitive Debitive
kurats'-u	*q:alt'al-u*

Corresponding debitive forms exists for the majority of verbs in Budugh, where they are only marked for adlocative case if transitive, and have a wider range of syntactic values:

	Kryz Debitive *only*	Budugh MSD/IPF PTCP/DEB
'stand'	*q:àlt'al-u*	*q:alt'al*
'sleep'	*àrχar-u*	*arχar*
'return'	*làlsal-u*	*alsal*
'do'	*jìj-u*	*siʔi*
'catch'	*jìrq-u*	*surq-u*
'beat'	*àt-u*	*at-u*
'take'	*q:àn-u*	*q:on-u*
'plough'	*jìz-u*	*suz-u*
'give'	*vùts'-u*	*juts'-u*
'say'	*lìj-u*	*ju'-u*
'eat'	*ùl-u*	*soɬul-u*
'milk'	*àz-u*	*soz-u*

3.2. Syntax of the Kryz debitive

The syntax of the Kryz debitive is very close to that of the corresponding forms in Budugh. There is no restriction according to the person of the subject (S & A). 1st person subjects are not rare:

(65) *sa-b* *mislaʃat* *vatu* *kadam*[15] *zin* *ši* *lìj-u*
one-F advice.F give.IMP let's.see 1 what say-DEB
'Advise me on what to say.'

(66) *zin* *gerek* *zi-vun* *la* *daʁ.ǯi-ʁ* *àsk-u-vun*
1 NEED 1-2 that mountain-SUPER put-DEB-2
'I have to leave you on this mountain.'

[15] Here *kadam* is a lexicalized form of 'to see'. In Udi a form of the verb *beʕʁsun* 'look' is also used as a sort of imperative/hortative particle (TIMUR MAISAK p.c.), perhaps due to Azerbaijani influence: cf. the similar use of *görum*.

The debitive is also often used in Kryz constructions without an identified Agent:

(67) *nimara* *hava.ǯ-var* *nik* *dìz-u*
such air-ADEL field NEG-plough-DEB
'In such (bad) weather, one should not plough one's field.'

In Kryz, as in Budugh, the modality conveyed by these forms can be volitive or simply subjunctive rather than strictly 'debitive' if the imperfective aspect is relevant, and they should be seen as an imperfective counterpart to the (perfective) optative. Both debitives and optatives depend frequently (but not always) on the main verb 'want' in combination with the particle *ki*[16]:

(68) *a-n* *k'ij-aʃar* *ja-rč'ar-e* *ki,* *lu* *xiǯ-a* *čàlq'al-u*
3-GENH heart-INEL PV-cross-PRS ki this water-IN bathe-DEB
'He comes up with the idea of taking a bath in this water.'

(69) *u-n-ur* *xad* *q:i-jts'-re* *ki,* *xiǯ-ik* *kèrč'ar-u*
3-H-ERG water PV-put.on-PRS ki water-SUB PV-go.under-DEB
'He pours water in order to wash himself.'

Remarkably, the agreement can show a raising process very similar to what was observed for the Budugh non-finite (masdar) form:

(70) *gada-z* *iuka* *šiu-rju* *ki* *q:uš* *jùrq-u*
boy-DAT F.want(PART) F.be-PRS.F KI bird F.catch-DEB
'The boy wants to (try and) catch the bird.'

But the main verb can be non-controlling, in which case all the volitive meaning is expressed by the debitive form. When this is chosen instead of the optative it allows for the marking of imperfective aspect:

(71) *šidir* *u-nda* *ara.ǯ-a* *ʃàč'ar-ju* *ki* *u-ǯbar*
sister 3-HPLg interval-IN PV-enter-PRS.F KI 3-HPL
ǯura *jij-u*
other do-DEB
'The sister intervenes to (try and) separate them.'

Other examples involve the subjunctive use of the debitive in consecutive subordination:

(72) *riš* *q:ahat-i-m* *zin* *zin-a-d* *q:vàn-u ?*
girl(GEN) lack-INTERR-Q 1 1-3-notN F.take-DEB
'Is there a scarcity of young girls, that I should take this one?'

[16] This structure is a copy of similar complement clauses in Azerbaijani, where the verb in the subordinate clause is in the optative or injunctive form.

(73) *za-uχ* *ši* *suž-i* *ki* *tukan* *q:vàn-u-zin ?*
1-APUD what exist-INTERR KI shop.F F.take-DEB-1
'What do I own to be able to buy a shop?'

(74) *žudur* *xi-již* *lazim-e* *ki* *a-ži-z* *vun*
hidden be-MSD necessary-COP.N KI DIST-NOTH-DAT 2
dìrqar-u
NEG.see-DEB
'You should hide so that the demon does not see you.'

3.3. Unmarked Kryz debitive forms

The only Kryz verbs which do not take the affix *-u* are 'go', 'be' and a series of 'come'-verbs with various preverbs, all of which have debitive forms identical to their imperfective bare stem:

	Kryz Injunctive, 'go'	Optative	Debitive
1	*jix-dam / jip-dam*	*jix-i / yipi*	*čiyi / čava*
2	*jix / yip*		
3	*jix-tir / yip-tir*		
1PLEXCL	*jip-dam*	*yipi*	*čaba*
1PLINCL	*jip-daj*		
2PL	*jip-aj*		
3PL	*jip-tir*		

Compare bare-stem vs. affixal formations in the following example:

(75) *gerek* *jin jif.un-a* *ča-ba-jin* *ki* *varaʁ.ži-r*
NEED 2PL night-IN go-HPL(DEB)-2PL KI sun-ERG
dugvats'-u-jin
NEG.burn-DEB-2PL
'You should walk by night, so that the sun does not burn you.'

	Kryz Injunctive, 'be'	Optative	Debitive
1	*xi-dam*	*iši*	*ši-ji / šava*
2	*sak / sauk*		
3	*iši*		
1PLEXCL	*xi-dam*		*šaba*
1PLINCL	*xi-daj*		
2PL	*sabkaj*		
3PL	*iši*		

3.4. The particles gerek and nabada in Kryz

In Kryz, the debitive is usually employed with the same *gerek* as was noted in Budugh. Note that the stress is initial and falling, so we are dealing with the finite form:

(76) *kar* *hara* *daxa-ǯi* *qːarar* *dùts'-u* *gerek*
work aware NEG.be-SEQ decision NEG.give-DEB NEED
'A decision should not be taken without knowing the matter.'

(77) *adami* *qʼaj-ǯ-aʃar* *čiχeʃan* *čàrk-u* *gerek*
person die-PERF-INEL after burry-DEB NEED
'A dead person has to be buried.'

(78) *gerék* *zin* *duz-a* *riχ-eʃ* *làlsal-u*
NEED 1 right-ATR road-IN return-DEB
'I should return to the right path.'

(79) *vún* *gerek* *šib-ud* *jiʁ* *kʼadir-ǯi* *ʃadi-ʁ*
2 NEED three-N day cauldron-GEN surface-SUPER
àsqʼvan-u-vun
sit.down-DEB-2
'You have to remain seated on the cauldron for three days.'

The positive form introduced by the Persian frozen locution *nabada* 'let it not be (that)' expresses a negative recommendation, and if used with the second person is less mandatory than the Prohibitive:

(80) *nabada* *riki* *ačuʁ* *jàrt-u-vun !*
god.forbid door open leave-DEB-2
'Take care not to leave the door open!'

(81) *nabada* *sus* *qːvàn-u-vun !*
god.forbid bride F.take-DEB-2
'Do not think of taking a wife!'

4. Conclusion

The forms and functions of the debitive (and imperfective masdar) in Budugh and Kryz can be summed up in the following table:

	Budugh	Kryz
morphology/verb classes	TR. V.: IPF+ *-u* INTR.V.&CAUS.: IPF + *-ø*	IPF+ *-u* except for two intrans. verbs
non-finite form: masdar (bare)	complement clauses	—
non-finite form, inflected masdar	purposive clauses	—
finite form, dependent	*debitive, subjunctive*	
finite form, independent	*debitive or 'imperfective obligative'*	
suggested etymology	verb stem (+ adlocative *-u*)	

Viewed from an etymological point of view, language-internal evidence leads us to reject the possibility of fortuitous homonymy between the adlocative nominal case and the verbal debitive mood. The adlocative as a variant of the dative is a natural marker of nominal dependency on nominalized verb forms (the masdars), and it is found with most verbs in Budugh, the form in question also having the expected independent use, that of a debitive.

Functionally, the unity of masdar and debitive as a single category may seem awkward, as seen from the point of view of European languages whose description relies on the existence of a clear distinction between finite and non-finite forms. Nevertheless, the identity of the debitive-marking ending on transitive verbs with the ending found on the masdar is beyond all doubt, because the identity of these two forms is observed not only on transitive verbs, where these forms are case-marked (for the adlocative), but also on intransitive verbs, where the same imperfective bare stem is also used in both finite and non-finite functions, cf. AUTHIER (2010b). But it does not necessarily follow that the mood marker *-u* derives from the case marker *-u* via the nominalized form.

In Kryz, almost all verbs have a form in *-u* with debitive meaning, but there is no trace of a nominalized form with the same ending. This casts serious doubt on the 'de-subordinating hypothesis' as it relates to this language. Kryz in fact lacks an imperfective verbal noun altogether, while Budugh lacks a perfective verbal noun: both languages have acquired a distinct verbal noun, built in each case on only one of the two aspectual stems.

This discrepancy leads us to challenge the assumption recently put forward by Evans that a non-indicative mood must emerge from a case-marked subordinate form *by way of ellipsis*; it seems in fact that a case marker can be used as a mood marker *without ellipsis*. If the debitive mood exists in Kryz with the same adlocative *-u* suffix, while there is no

adlocative-marked masdar in the language[17], one has to assume that case can be used with modal value on verbs without desubordination. Instead we should posit a branching grammaticalization path:

older situation		first step (Budugh and Kryz)	second step (Budugh only)
non-finite nominative IPF stem ***-ø*** (Budugh ITR., CAUS. + two Kryz intrans. verbs)	+ ***-u***	=> non-finite: IPF MSD (Budugh)	↘
			(by analogy) unmarked MSD (Budugh)
	+ ***-u***	=> finite, modal: DEB (Budugh & Kryz)	***-ø***

Used as a marker of nominal dependency, the adlocative case ending in *-u* has been seen to mark nouns as temporary recipients. Bearing on verb stems, the same element provides a debitive mood, i.e. a predicate conceived of as a debt, an obligation, a duty. It *later* became a masdar without purposive semantics, a trivial evolution for infinitive-like forms. This scenario fits well what is known of Budugh in other parts of its grammar (phonetics, gender agreement and valency alternation): it is a language which retains archaic features but also shows a very strong tendency to create new analogical forms. And in the same way, the dative marking found on Rutul and Tsakhur hortative and future forms may originate from debitive or potential finite modalities, rather than indirectly via infinitive-purposive forms.

Abbreviations

A	'animate' noun or agreement	INTERR	interrogative
AD	adlocative	IPF	imperfective
ADR	addressative	M	human masculine noun or agreement
AOR	aorist	MSD	masdar (=verbal noun)
APUD	apudlocative	N	neutral/non-animate gender noun or agreement
ATR	attributive	NEG	negation
COM	comitative	NOM	nominative
CONSTAT	constative	NPL	non human plural noun or agreement
COP	copula	OBL	oblique stem
CVB	converb	OPT	optative mood
DAT	dative	PART	participle
DEB	debitive mood	PERF	perfective narrative tense
DIST	distal	PF	perfective
ERG	ergative	PL	plural
F	human feminine noun or agreement	PRS	present tense
FUT	future tense		
FOC	additive focus		
GEN	genitive		

[17] In Kryz, only the perfective stem yields a masdar, which shows the substantivized participle ending *-ic*, cf. AUTHIER (2008). In Budugh, the verbal noun is identical to the imperfective stem or is based on it.

HORT	hortative	PST	past tense
HPL	human plural noun or agreement	PV	preverb
IMP	imperative	SEQ	sequential converb
IN	inlocative	SUBEL	subelative
INF	infinitive		

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NINA DOBRUSHINA (Moscow)

The Optative domain in East Caucasian languages*

Abstract

The Optative is an inflected verb form dedicated to the expression of the wish of the speaker. Caucasian languages tend to have morphologically specialized forms to convey this meaning. The purpose of this paper is to explore the volitional domain based on an analysis of the Optatives in 16 Caucasian languages, including 15 East Caucasian languages and one Turkic language of Daghestan (Kumyk). The paper provides typological arguments for distinguishing between two different kinds of optatives. The Performative Optative is dedicated to the expression of blessings and curses, while the Desiderative Optative expresses a 'powerless wish' of the speaker (his/her dreams, longings etc.).

1. Introduction

The Optative is an inflected verb form dedicated to the expression of the wish of the speaker (BYBEE et al. 1994: 179). Thus, the Optative belongs to a family of verbal categories whose main function is to convey the wish of the speaker, i.e. the volitional moods (AMMANN & VAN DER AUWERA 2004). There is no consensus on how this domain is typically divided into a number of related categories, including Imperative, Hortative, Jussive, Optative, Subjunctive etc. However, attempts have been made to provide a functional definition for these categories (BYBEE et al. 1994: 179; PALMER

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2001; PLUNGIAN 2000; VAN DER AUWERA et al. 2005; DOBRUSHINA et al. 2005; KÖNIG & SIEMUND 2007; TIMBERLAKE 2007).

The purpose of this paper is to further our understanding of the volitional domain based on an analysis of the forms and meanings of Optatives in the languages of Daghestan and the Nakh-Daghestanian (East Caucasian) family. These languages provide rich empirical data for a study of Optatives, since most of them, unlike European languages, possess dedicated morphological patterns to express this meaning. While languages of the Caucasus commonly use a special mood whose main or only function is to express the wish of the speaker (cf. example (1) from Balkar, a Turkic language of the North-West Caucasus), European languages use either non-morphological means (such as modal verbs in English, cf. ex. (2)), or other indirect moods (usually referred to as Subjunctive, Conjunctive or Conditional, cf. ex. (3) from Italian).

(1) Balkar (personal field notes)
bir *zaman-da* ***auru-ma-ʁɨn***
one time-and **be.ill-NEG-PFM.OPT**
'Never be ill.' ('May you be healthy and never be ill')

(2) English
May *he* ***rest*** *in peace!*

(3) Italian
Dio *lo* ***benedic-a****!*
God 3.M **bless-SUBJ.PRS.3**
'God bless him!'

The Italian Subjunctive and similar categories differ from Caucasian Optatives in that they fulfil other functions besides the expression of the speaker's wish, thus appearing in volitional complement clauses, conditional clauses, epistemic constructions and elsewhere. The present study will be restricted to those cases where the wish of the speaker is the only or the main function of the form.

The domain of the speaker's wish is not homogeneous. The Optative is semantically and often formally related to forms combining the expression of the wish of the speaker with an appeal of some kind. As well as the 2nd person Imperative (an appeal to the addressee), most languages have some means of expressing Hortative (= 1st person inclusive Imperative – an appeal to the addressee to carry out an action together with the speaker, e.g. 'Let's go!') and Jussive (= 3rd person Imperative – an appeal to the addressee to cause a non-locutor to carry out an action, e.g. 'Let him go!'; for discussion and examples see XRAKOVSKIJ 2001; AMMANN & VAN DER AUWERA 2004; DOBRUSHINA et al. 2005). Hence some scholars do not distinguish between these categories: "Examples of languages with optatives, i.e. morphological markers expressing wishes (or third person directives) are Malayalam, Lezgian, Evenki, Greek, Turkish" (KÖNIG & SIEMUND 2007:

314); see however (PALMER 2001: 81), who insists on using separate terms. The overlap of Optative and Jussive is observed in many of the languages of Daghestan. I will consider the expression of Jussive meaning along with the analysis of the Optative category and discuss possible ways of distinguishing between these categories.

1.1. Semantic types of optatives

The domain of optatives is heterogeneous from both the formal and semantic points of view. At least two different semantic types of optatives are attested.

1.1.1. Performative optative: blessings and curses

The first type is used to bless or curse. Some languages of Europe have a set of idiomatic blessing or cursing formulae based on unproductive formal patterns. For example, Germanic languages may use an obsolete form of the subjunctive (ex. 4), and Russian has a number of expressions with an extinct 3rd person imperative form (ex. 5)[1].

(4) Norwegian [STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ 1957: 129]
Leve *fedrelandet!*
'Long live the fatherland!'

(5) Russian
razraz-i *men'-a* *grom!*
strike-IMP I.OBL-ACC thunder
'Let thunder strike me!'

Blessing and cursing formulae in most European languages are idiomatized, restricted to a limited set of situations and expressed by means of special moods which are often otherwise obsolete[2]. The situation is quite different in Caucasian languages: in the majority of these, blessings and curses are integrated into everyday speech etiquette. In a Daghestanian village, one cannot see somebody working without wishing him success. It is almost obligatory for anyone witnessing various activities to

[1] In Old Russian, the imperative was regularly used in both second and third persons. In modern Russian, its use in the third person is preserved only in formulaic expressions of blessing and cursing and the form is not perceived as a third person imperative any more. Modern speakers would be likely to understand it as a somewhat irregular transfer of the second person imperative to the third person.

[2] According to JAMES A. MATISOFF, this is not the case in Yiddish culture: "The formation of these emotive expressions [blessings, curses and oaths – *N.D.*] is a productive process among fully fluent Yiddish speakers, so that it is impossible to give anything approaching an exhaustive list of them. Virtuosity in concocting new linguistic variations on the old emotive themes is highly prized" (MATISOFF 1979: 5).

wish luck to those involved; wishing for many and various disasters to befall them, on the other hand, is a standard and potent form of insult.[3]

Most Caucasian languages have an inflectional means of expressing this important type of social interaction. There is no common term for this category. The most frequently used term is *optative*, but this does not distinguish between the 'blessing and curse' optative and the second type of optative, described below.[4] An attempt to isolate this specific optative as a separate mood was made in (DOBRUSHINA 2001a), where the blessing and cursing optative was called the *factitive optative*, thus emphasizing the effort of the speaker to make his/her wish come true.

In this paper, I suggest another term for forms or constructions which are dedicated to blessings and curses. The **Performative optative** just described will be opposed to the **Desiderative optative** described below.[5]

The Performative optative is a widespread and frequent category in the Caucasus. I suggest that these optatives are an areal feature of the culture and languages of the Caucasus rather than a genetic inheritance, since these forms are typical of genetically unrelated Caucasian languages. Cf. examples from East Caucasian (6), from West Caucasian (7), and from Turkic (8) languages.

(6) Bagvalal [DOBRUSHINA 2001: 327]
biš:di *žužaħ-i-ɬ:* *c'aj-ɬa-ni* ***c'ahi-la!***
you.PL hell-OBL-GEN fire-LOC-IN **burn.IMP-PFM.OPT**
'May you burn in hell fire!'

(7) Abkhaz [HEWITT 1979: 198]
bzia ***wɨ-ba-a:jt'!***
good **you-see-PFM.OPT**
'Greetings!' (lit. 'May you see something good!')

(8) Kumyk [TAGIR GADZHIAKHMEDOV, p.c.]
sen ***süjün-gür!***
you.SG **be.glad-PFM.OPT**
'Be glad! Rejoice!' ('May you be glad!')

[3] In an anthropological paper on blessings, curses and oaths in Okiek (Kenya) the author distinguishes between formal (uttered during special ceremonies) and conversational versions of these genres (KRATZ 1989: 646).

[4] Cf. TIMBERLAKE (2007: 319): "[t]he speaker may express a wish (*optative*) that the world be changed from its current or likely state. In using the optative, the speaker does not impose responsibility for the change on the addressee, but rather states a wish that the world will change spontaneously: *And God said, 'Let there be light', and there was light*". Obviously, TIMBERLAKE's definition covers various optatives such as *I wish it would rain* as well.

[5] These two terms were suggested by GILLES AUTHIER during discussion of the present paper.

1.1.2. Desiderative optative: wishes and dreams

The second semantic type of optative expresses a wish or dream of the speaker, and is not used to bless or curse or in other kinds of ritual formulae. This semantic difference between the two functions was noted by A. WIERZBICKA (1972: 143): "The essential difference between blessing and cursing on the one hand, and wishing on the other hand, seems to consist in the assumption of the power of one's words in the first case, and their powerlessness in the second".

These utterances serve to express pure powerless wishes, unlike Performative optatives which imply an attempt to change the world by an appeal to a supernatural power. We call the former the **Desiderative optative**.

Many European languages use conditional or subjunctive moods to express this meaning:

(9) English
If only life were lived in reverse.

(10) Russian

Vot	***by***	*v*	*tak-om*	*dom-e*	*ži-t'!*
PTCL	**SUBJ**	in	such-SG.PREP	house-SG.PREP	live-INF

'It would be great to live in such a house!'

This type of optative meaning is very rarely expressed by dedicated mood forms, cf.:

> There are several natural sources for a true optative sentence type: future tenses, conditional or subjunctive moods, and imperative moods. Any of these might become specialized as an optative during the history of a language. Yet in few of the languages known to us has this specialization occurred. (SADOCK & ZWICKY 1985: 164)

1.2. Optatives in the Caucasus

A dedicated optative form is not a frequent phenomenon in the languages of the world. In the WALS sample of 319 languages, a dedicated optative was found in 48 languages; however, this figure should not be taken as an indicator of the frequency of the optative cross-linguistically, since the aim of the authors was to include a relatively high proportion of languages with optatives rather than to provide an unbiased sample. According to WALS (DOBRUSHINA et al. 2005: 299), the two areas characterized by the widespread presence of morphological optatives are the Caucasus and Nepal.

Most languages of the North-Western part of the Caucasus have a separate Performative Optative. There are also quite a few languages which possess special forms to express desiderative optative meaning, including

Balkar, Kumyk (Turkic), Abkhaz, Abaza, Adyghe, Kabardian (West Caucasian), Ingush, and Chechen (East Caucasian).

Examples (11) and (12) illustrate the two inflectional optatives in Balkar.

Balkar (personal field notes)

(11) Performative optative
axirat-xa ***ket-xin***
other.world-DAT **go-PFM.OPT**
'Die!' (lit. 'Go to the other world!')

(12) Desiderative optative
ders *terkiraq* ***bošal-ʁa*** ***e-di***
lesson soon **finish-DES.OPT** **AUX-PST**
'I wish this lesson would be over soon!'

Abkhaz also has two optatives.

Abkhaz [DAUR ZANTARIA, p.c.; HEWITT 1979: 198]

(13) Performative optative
si-ps-a:jt'
1SG-die-PFM.OPT
'May I die!'

(14) Desiderative optative
b-ara *pšʷʒala* ***si-zha-nda***
F-you beautiful **1SG.F-grow-DES.OPT**
'I wish you'd grow up to be a beautiful girl!' ('If only you'd grow up to be a beautiful girl!')

The Caucasus is thus an area with an extraordinary density of optatives. In this paper, I will give a survey of the inflectional forms and constructions used in languages spoken in the East Caucasus to express optative meanings.

In section 2, I focus on data from three languages of Daghestan which have different formal and/or semantic patterns as regards the two Optatives: Khwarshi, Kumyk and Archi.

Khwarshi (a Tsezic language of Southwestern Daghestan) has an optative model typical of many Daghestanian languages: it has an inflectional Performative optative available for all three persons; in the 3rd person, this form also expresses Jussive meaning (2.1).

Kumyk (a Turkic language of Northern Daghestan) has two inflectional Optatives. The first (Desiderative optative) is available for all persons, while the second (Performative optative) is restricted to the 2nd person only. Kumyk optatives cannot express imperative meanings.

Archi (a Lezgic language of Central Daghestan) has no inflectional Optative. However, it has a very productive pattern of expressing blessings and curses by means of another mood form.

In section 3, I discuss the terms for the categories which form the domain of the Optative in East Caucasian languages based on my analysis of the Kumyk, Khwarshi, and Archi data, and suggest parameters for a classification of the relevant forms into Jussives, Performative Optatives and Desiderative Optatives.

On the basis of these theoretical assumptions, section 4 provides an overview of the Optatives in some other East Caucasian languages of Daghestan and Northern Azerbaijan. For the sake of areal comparison, I also consider data from Chechen. Genetically, Chechen belongs to the same family as Khwarshi and Archi; however, it does not seem to share the features characteristic of their optative domain.

Section 5 suggests some generalizations about typical Optative and Jussive patterns in this area and draws some typological conclusions.

2. Optatives in Khwarshi, Kumyk and Archi

2.1. Khwarshi

Khwarshi is an unwritten Tsezic language of Southwestern Daghestan (about 3000 speakers).[6] It has a dedicated inflectional form in *-otɬo* which is used in two functions.

- As Performative optative, this form is available in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons.

(15) 1st person blessings and curses

j-uh-otɬo	*do,*	*heresɨ*	*is-se*	*b-us-ɬo*
II-die-PFM.OPT	I	lie	say-PRS	III-find-COND

'May I drop dead if I am lying!'

(16) 2nd person blessings and curses

žužah-ma-l	*b-etɬ'-otɬo*	*mižo*
hell-IN-LAT	**HPL-fall-PFM.OPT**	you.PL

'Go to hell!'

(17) 3rd person blessings and curses

ruɬ	*iman-tɬ'a*	*b-eʁ-un*	*b-us-otɬo*
breath	iman-SUPER	III-take-CVB	**III-find-PFM.OPT**

'May he go to Paradise!'

- As a Jussive, it is used in the 3rd person only. It acts as the main means of expressing indirect inducement.

[6] The data from Khwarshi were kindly provided by ZAIRA KHALILOVA.

(18) 3rd person indirect command
pat'imat-i ***j-ij-otłǒ*** *bataχu*
Patimat-ERG **V-do-PFM.OPT** bread
'Let Patimat bake the bread.'

Khwarshi does not use the form in *-otłǒ* as a request applied to the addressee to carry out a particular action. Thus, in 1/2 persons this form is used as a Performative optative only, while it combines Optative and Jussive functions in the 3rd person.

This distribution of Jussive-Optative meanings is typical of East Caucasian languages.[7] An explanation for this pattern has been suggested in (DOBRUSHINA 2001): the main difference between Imperative and Optative is the lack of control over the action which is characteristic of the Optative:

> Both the Imperative and the Optative refer to a wish of the speaker. With the optative, the state of affairs wished for is typically outside the sphere of influence of the speaker […]. With an imperative, however, the speaker launches an appeal to the hearer to fulfill the wish. (DOBRUSHINA et al. 2005)

The Jussive differs from 2nd and 1st person inclusive imperative forms in that the command is directed towards the 3rd person, which means that the person expected to carry out the action is not a participant in the speech situation. Therefore, the speaker does not control this situation in the same way as s/he does when the inducement is directed towards the addressee.

The combination of wish with lack of control is thus typical of both Optative and Jussive, which could explain the frequent overlap between these two categories. However, there are languages which distinguish between Optative and Jussive, as is the case in Kumyk and Archi described below.

Khwarshi also has a means of encoding the Desiderative optative (i.e. expressing a wish or dream of the speaker). There is no dedicated inflectional form to express this meaning in Khwarshi, just as in most East Caucasian languages. It must be expressed by means of other mood forms, often the Conditional (primarily used in the protasis of hypothetical conditional constructions):

(19a) Conditional as the expression of the wish of the speaker
haq'u ***č'ago*** ***b-eč-łd***
parents **alive** **HPL-be-COND**
'I wish (my) parents were still alive! [they are dead now]'

[7] The combination of 1/2/3 persons Performative optative and 3rd person indirect command in a single inflectional form is attested in other languages of the world as well; for example, Limbu (Tibeto-Burman; VAN DRIEM 1987), Dumi (Tibeto-Burman; VAN DRIEM 1993), Kulung (Tibeto-Burman; TOLSMA 1999), Hayu (Tibeto-Burman; MICHAILOVSKY 1988), Kannada (Dravidian; SRIDHAR 1990), Lealao Chinatec (Oto-Manguean; RUPP 1989).

(19b) Conditional in the protasis of a conditional construction

haq'u	*č'ago*	*b-eč-ɬo,*	*iz:e*	*dil*
parents	**alive**	**HPL-be-COND**	they.ERG	I.LAT
kumak	*b-ij-a*	*b-eč-i*		
help	III-do-INF	III-be-PST.W		

'If my parents were still alive, they would help me.'

The Optative domain in Khwarshi is presented in Table 1.

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		Performative optative (*-otɬo*)	conditional protasis forms
2nd person		Performative optative (*-otɬo*)	conditional protasis forms
3rd person	Performative optative (*-otɬo*)	Performative optative (*-otɬo*)	conditional protasis forms

Table 1: The domain of Khwarshi Jussive-Optative forms[8]

The Jussive-Optative system of Khwarshi is very typical of Daghestan. Similar patterns of semantic distribution between Jussive and Optative forms are attested in Akhvakh, Bagvalal, Lezgian, Agul, Hunzib, Bezhta, Godoberi, and Avar (see below).

2.2. Kumyk

Kumyk is a Turkic language of Daghestan. Its Jussive-Optative system is similar to that attested in other Turkic languages; however, it does show certain areal (Daghestanian) features.

Like most Caucasian languages, Kumyk has a dedicated inflectional form to express blessings and curses (the Performative Optative). Like some Turkic languages, it also has dedicated inflectional forms to express the wish of the speaker (Desiderative optative). And like most Turkic languages, it also has a dedicated Jussive.

The Kumyk Performative Optative is marked by *-ʁIr* and is available in the 2nd person only.

(20) 2nd person blessings and curses

tüz-el-mej	*qal-ʁır*	[AGARAGIM SULTANMURADOV, p.c.]
build-PASS-NEG	**remain-PFM.OPT**	

'May you be unsettled in your life.'

(21) *sen* ***süjün-gür*** [TAGIR GADZHIAKHMEDOV, p.c.]
you.SG **be.glad-PFM.OPT**
'Live merrily!' ('May you live merrily!')

[8] In this and the following tables only optatives and jussives (but not imperatives) are listed. Thus, an empty cell does not mean that the function is not conveyed at all; it may be conveyed by the imperative or some other form.

The second Kumyk optative is a periphrastic construction which consists of a form ending in *-Gaj* and the past copula *edi*. The form in *-Gaj* has no other uses. It cannot be used without the copula. Thus, this form is dedicated to the expression of optative meaning (the use of this form is described in GADZHIAKHMEDOV 2000).

Kumyk [TAGIR GADZHIAKHMEDOV, p.c.]

(22) 1st person Desiderative optative
*men institut-ʁa **tüš-gej** **e-di-m***
I institute-DAT **enter-DES.OPT** **AUX-PST-1SG**
'I wish I could get into the institute!'

(23) 2nd person Desiderative optative
*sen onu **al-ʁaj** **e-di-ŋ***
you.SG 3SG **take-DES.OPT** **AUX-PST-2SG**
'You'd better take him [your son] with you.'

(24) 3rd person Desiderative optative
*tez jaz **bol-ʁaj** **e-di***
soon summer **be-DES.OPT** **AUX-PST**
'I wish summer would come soon!'

Kumyk optatives do not express imperative meanings: they are not used to cause the addressee or the 3rd person to carry out actions. Imperative categories are expressed by other forms. Like other Turkic languages, Kumyk has special inflectional forms dedicated to the expression of inducement towards the 1st person inclusive (the so-called Hortative or 1st person inclusive imperative) and towards the 3rd person (Jussive), e.g.:

Kumyk

1st person	*bar-ajɨm* 'let me go'	*bar-ajɨq* 'let's go'
2nd person	*bar* 'go!'	*bar-ɨʁɨz* 'go!'
3rd person	*bar-sɨn* 'let him go'	*bar-sɨn-lar* 'let them go'

The meaning of indirect command, which is expressed by an Optative in most East Caucasian languages (cf. Khwarshi), is thus expressed in Kumyk by the form in *-sIn* common to many Turkic languages. This form is available in the 3rd person only.

(25) Indirect command
*patimat aš **bišir-sin***
Patimat bread **bake-JUSS**
'Let Patimat bake the bread.'

The same form is used to convey blessings and curses directed towards the 3rd person:

3rd person blessings and curses

(26) *ömür-lü **bol-sun***
long.life-ADJ **be-JUSS**

'Let him be long-lived' (a blessing uttered to the parents of a new-born baby, directed towards the latter)

(27) *qol-lar-ɨŋ* ***sɨn-sɨn***
hand-PL-2SG **break-JUSS**
'Let your hands break.'

The Optative domain in Kumyk is presented in Table 2.

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person			Desiderative optative (*-Gaj edi*)
2nd person		Performative optative (*-ʁIr)*	Desiderative optative (*-Gaj edi*)
3rd person	Jussive (*-sIn*)	Jussive (*-sIn*)	Desiderative optative (*-Gaj edi*)

Table 2: The domain of Kumyk Jussive-Optative forms

2.3. Archi

Archi (a Lezgic language of Central Daghestan) is not a typical Daghestanian language in that it does not have an inflectional optative, even though blessing and curse formulae are deeply integrated into the everyday communication of the Archi people. The meaning of the Performative optative in Archi is expressed by a highly grammaticalized dedicated syntactic construction involving the 2nd person imperative (this construction was first reported by A.E. KIBRIK, cf. KIBRIK 1977: 221).

Although this construction always uses the 2nd person imperative, it can be applied to any person. The two examples below show the difference between the ordinary 2nd person imperative construction and the optative construction.[9] The first example is a typical Archi blessing formula which is used when a child of the addressee is not in the village (having left for military service, studies etc.). The noun 'child' is the main participant of the optative construction in this example. The second example illustrates the imperative proper with the same verb; in this case the noun 'child' is a form of address used with the 2nd person imperative.

(28a) *lobur* *χ:ʷa:ra-ši* ***zaba***
child.PL be.glad-CVB **come.IMP**
'May the children come back joyfully!' (lit. 'Children joyful come back')

(28b) *lobur,* *nokɬ'-a-ši* ***zaba***
child.PL house-IN-ALL **come.IMP**
'Children, go home!'

[9] Here and below Archi examples come from the author's personal field notes, unless indicated otherwise.

The 3rd person optative interpretation of example (28a) and the 2nd person imperative interpretation of example (28b) are chosen by the Archi speaker without hesitation – s/he would never translate the first sentence as an appeal to the 2nd person addressee (*'Children, come back joyfully'). The fulfilment of the wish expressed in (28a) is not controlled by the children (one Archi speaker explained that "it does not depend on them"). The 3rd person optative interpretation of this sentence thus follows from its semantics. The success of the trip does not fully depend on its participants.

In example (29), the verb is used in a traditional blessing formula which is used as a request addressed to Allah to give a son to the speaker.

Blessings and curses

(29) *w-ez* *wišdu* ***w-a***
I-I.DAT male.baby **I-do.IMP**
'May I have a son!' (lit. 'Do me a son')

The meaning 'to become mother/father' is rendered in Archi by an expression which literally means 'to do a baby.'

(30a) *ja-r-mi-s* ***uw-li*** *q'ʕe-t'u* *mekłle* *lo*
this-II-OBL-DAT **IV.do.PF-EVID** two-PTCL.IV male child.ABS
jamu *bošor-mi-ɬ:u*
that.I man-OBL-COM
'She had two boys from this man.'

Note that this construction is not understood as a request to the spouse, since the sex of the future child does not depend on her. Thus, we see again that the optative interpretation of the construction is chosen by the speaker based on his/her idea of the controllability of the situation.

In the case where the 2nd person is the beneficiary the blessing can be understood as a request to Allah to give a son to the addressee, though it is never translated with a Russian 2nd person imperative by Archi speakers:

(30b) *was* *wišdu* ***w-a***
you.SG.DAT male.baby **I-do.IMP**
'May you have a son!' (lit. 'Do a son for you')

If the blessing concerns the 3rd person, it will be phrased as a request to make a son for this person:

(30c) *wit* *laha-s* *wišdu* ***w-a***
you.SG.GEN child.OBL-DAT male.baby **I-do.IMP**
'May your son/daughter have a son!' (lit. 'Do a son for your child')

Thus, the 2nd person imperative form cannot be interpreted as an appeal to the addressee. It is more appropriately translated as an indirect appeal to a person (superior power) who is not present in the situation of speech:

a) ‘May he do me a son!’
b) ‘May he do you a son!’
c) ‘May he do a son for your son/daughter!’

Intransitive constructions with a single argument are even less transparent, since the imperative form agrees with the absolutive. Taking into account that the 2nd person intransitive imperative normally agrees with the absolutive participant who is being addressed (the one who is expected to carry out an action), the 1st and 3rd person Optative constructions are in a certain sense contradictory: they agree with the 1st or 3rd person participant respectively, although these are not addressees from the point of view of usual imperative semantics as they are not expected to carry out the action.

(31a) 1st person singular
zon *c’at’ur-t:u* ***k^{w}-a!***
I be.clever-ATR.I **I.become**-IMP
‘May I [masculine] become clever!’

(31b) 2nd person singular
un *c’at’ur-t:u* ***k^{w}-a!***
you.SG.ABS be.clever-ATR.I **I.become**-IMP
‘May you [singular, masculine] become clever!’

(31c) 3rd person singular
wit *lo* *c’at’ur-t:u* ***k^{w}-a!***
you.SG.GEN son.ABS be.clever-ATR.I **I.become-IMP**
‘May your son become clever!’

Imperative forms in plural intransitive optative constructions may take the suffix *-r*. In general, *-r* is optionally attached to intransitive plural imperatives (KIBRIK 1977: 220):

(32a) ***w-arha*** *buwa-s* *xir*
I-think.IMP mother-DAT about
‘[You-masculine singular] Think about your mother.’

(32b) ***arha-r*** *buwa-s* *xir*
PERSPL.think.IMP-IMP.PL mother-DAT about
‘[You-plural] Think about your mother.’

The suffix is optional in optative constructions, just as it is in Archi imperatives in general.

1st person plural
(33a) *nen-t’u* *c’at’ur-t:-ib*
we-PERSPL.INCL be.clever-ATR-ATR.PL
k-a(-r)!
PERSPL.become-IMP(-IMP.PL)
‘May we become clever!’

2nd person plural

(33b) *žʷen* *c'at'ur-t:-ib* ***k-a(-r)!***
you.PL be.clever-ATR-ATR.PL **PERSPL.become-IMP(-IMP.PL)**
'May you (plural) become clever!'

3rd person plural

(33c) *wiš* *lobur* *c'at'ur-t:-ib*
you.PL.GEN child.PL be.clever-ATR-ATR.PL
ba-k-a(-r)!
HPL-become-IMP(-IMP.PL)
'May your children become clever!'

Thus, although the Archi Performative optative is not a dedicated inflectional form, there is still a clear-cut distinction between blessing/curse constructions and 2nd person imperatives. Below I list the features typical of the Archi Performative optative construction as compared to the imperative proper.

Performative Optative Construction	2nd Person Imperative Construction
➢ involves the 2nd person imperative form	➢ includes the 2nd person imperative form
➢ applies to 1/2/3 persons	➢ applies to the 2nd person only
➢ refers only to those situations which cannot be controlled by the speaker's command	➢ refers only to those situations which can be controlled by the speaker's command

Table 3: Archi Performative optative vs. 2nd person Imperative

Thus, in my interpretation, the Archi 2nd person imperative is used to express blessing and curse formulae with all three persons. Another solution has been suggested by TIMUR MAISAK (p.c.). One can assume that Archi has a special volitive mood which exhibits an unusual configuration of meanings. It expresses 2nd person imperative with controllable verbs, and 1/2/3 blessings and curses with non-controllable verbs; see Table 4.

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		Volitive mood	
2nd person	Volitive mood	Volitive mood	
3rd person		Volitive mood	

Table 4: Archi "volitive mood": a possible interpretation

This situation would be similar to a commonplace distribution of 2nd person Imperative usages, which can convey wishes in many languages of the world (cf. *Have a nice day!*), were it not for the unusual extension to 1st and 3rd persons. To my knowledge the pattern displayed here is not attested elsewhere in the languages of the world.

Archi blessing and cursing constructions often mention Allah. Usually, the word 'Allah' is used in the ergative case:

(34) *allah-li* *ja-t* *ɬ:an* *wež*
Allah-ERG this-IV water you.PL.DAT
zumzum-t:-en-nu-t ***k-a***
Zamzam-PL-OBL.PL-ATR-IV **IV.become-IMP**
'May Allah make this water holy for you.' (i.e. similar to the water of the Zamzam Well, the holy source in Mecca)

Since the verb *kes* 'become' is intransitive, the ergative noun form should be interpreted as an ergative of cause. The causal ergative usually occurs on abstract nouns:

(35) *to-w* ***ac:'i-li*** *lap* *hac* *e‹w›t:i-li*
that-I **illness-ERG** very be.weak ‹I›be.PF-EVID
'He became very weak because of (his) illness.' [KIBRIK 1977: 139]

Though 'Allah' is not an abstract noun, it can be argued that *Allahli* is a causal ergative. Archi allows the use of two ergatives when one of them has an instrumental interpretation (36).

(36) ***zari*** ***pulungi-li*** *gundi* *haˤrt:a* *a-b-u*
I.ERG **mattock-ERG** pit be.wide do-III-PF
'I made the pit wider using a mattock.'

According to A.E. KIBRIK, unlike the instrumental ergative, causal ergatives cannot be introduced by transitive verbs. Example (37b), which is a transitive optative construction with two ergatives, is ungrammatical: *allahli* does not occur in transitive optative constructions. Thus, *allahli* in optative constructions should be interpreted as a causal ergative ('with the help of Allah').

(37a) *dušman-til-čaj* *wit* *maħla* *dimmus* *b-a*
enemy-PL-ERG you.SG.GEN house destroy III-do.IMP
'May enemies destroy your house!'

(37b) **allah-li* *dušman-til-čaj* *wit* *maħla*
Allah-ERG enemy-PL-ERG you.SG.GEN house
dimmus *b-a*
destroy III-do.IMP

Unlike Khwarshi and many other East Caucasian languages, the expression of indirect command only partially overlaps with the Optative in Archi. Archi has a specific way of forming the Jussive: the imperative of the verb 'say' is suffixed to the imperative of the main verb. Thus, if *ba:c'i* is an imperative of the verb 'to fill', *ba:c'i-ba* is rendered as 'let him fill' [fill.IMP-say.IMP]. Note that the main participant can be marked by either the contallative or the ergative case. The contallative is inherited from the verb 'say': in Archi, the addressee of speech verbs bears contallative marking. The availability of ergative marking here shows that the

Jussive has developed into a form distinct from the combination of the verb ‘say’ and the imperative.

(38a) 2nd person imperative
buwa, is lo ***barha!***
mother IV.my child **nurse.IMP**
‘Mother, take care of my child!’

(38b) Jussive
jasqa-tːu-t ***Patimat-li /*** ***Patimat-li-r-ši*** *lo*
today-ATR-IV Patimat-ERG Patimat-OBL-CONT-ALL child
barha-ba!
nurse.IMP-JUSS
‘Today, let Patimat take care of my child.’

Compare (38b) with (38c), which illustrates the common pattern of marking the addressee introduced by the verb ‘say’:

(38c) ***ba*** *to-r ɬːanna:-r-ši*
say.IMP that-II woman.OBL-CONT-ALL
‘Tell this woman.’

Thus the Archi Jussive should not be considered as a free combination of the imperative of ‘say’ and the imperative of the main verb for the following reasons: 1) The Jussive does not require contallative marking but can employ other cases, 2) it does not necessarily express inducement of the addressee to perform a speech act (‘tell him: do something’), 3) it may be applied to inanimate referents, as shown by the following example:

(39) *sa‹r›ka wiš diq’ haˤršar-ši i.* **–**
‹II›look.IMP you.SG.GEN soup boil.IPF-CVB IV.be.PRS
haˤršba-ba
boil.IMP-JUSS
‘Look, the soup is boiling.’ – ‘Let it boil.’

The Jussive form can be used in optative function only when the main participant has ergative marking. It cannot be applied to situations which are not controlled by the main participant. Cf. example (40a), which illustrates a traditional Archi wish formula usually uttered to parents when their child has left the village, example (40b) which illustrates the ordinary usage of the Jussive, example (40c) with optative meaning, and (40d), which is ungrammatical. The latter is built as a Jussive form from the expression ‘to come back with joy’.

(40a) *ʕali χːʷaːra-ši* ***zaba***
Ali be.glad-CVB **come.IMP**
‘May Ali come back joyfully.’

(40b) *ʕali / ʕali-r-ši nokɬ’-a-ši* ***zab-ba***
Ali.ABS Ali-CONT-ALL house-IN-ALL **come.IMP-JUSS**
‘Let Ali come home.’

(40c) *ʕali* *χːʷaːra-ši* ***zab-ba***
Ali.ABS be.glad-CVB **come.IMP-JUSS**
lit. ‘Let Ali come back joyfully.’
(40d) **ʕali-r-ši* *χːʷaːra-ši* ***zab-ba***
Ali-CONT-ALL be.glad-CVB **come.IMP-JUSS**
lit. ‘Let Ali come back joyfully.’

In sum, Archi uses distinct constructions to express optative and indirect imperative, both based on the 2nd person imperative.

In order to express the dream/wish of the speaker, Archi uses irrealis forms which normally occur in the protasis of conditional constructions.

(41) *un* *ɬːonnol* ***d-oʀ›kir-enčiš***
you.SG.ERG woman **II-‹IPF›take.away.IPF-COND**
‘I wish you’d marry.’

(42) *tʼal* ***ow-enčʼiš,*** *zoːn-u* *χo‹w›tːi,* *boli.*
send **I.do.PF-COND** I-and ‹I›go.POT say.PF-EVID
‘If you send me, I will go, – he answered.’ [KIBRIK et al., in prep.]

The domain of the Optative in Archi is shown in Table 5.

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		Performative optative construction (2nd person imperative with reference to non-controllable situations)	conditional protasis forms
2nd person		Performative optative construction (2nd person imperative with reference to non-controllable situations)	conditional protasis forms
3rd person	Jussive (imperative + say.IMP)	Performative optative construction (2nd person imperative with reference to non-controllable situations), Jussive with non-contallative participant	conditional protasis forms

Table 5: The domain of Archi Jussive-Optative forms

3. Terminological issues

This short overview of three languages of Daghestan allows us to establish the main ways in which the domain of Jussive-Optative modal meanings is divided up in the languages of this area, and to list the properties of the attested categories.

Since overlap between imperatives and optatives is a frequent phenomenon, it is often problematic to choose the appropriate term for a certain

form: Jussive (3rd person Imperative) or Performative optative. The classification suggested below is based on two assumptions:
1) Imperative meanings (which attempt to urge the speaker to perform an action) are primary with respect to optative meanings, since imperatives are more universal cross-linguistically and imperatives are expressed by inflectional means much more often than optatives.
2) Imperatives tend to be restricted to a particular person value: it is not typical for imperatives to use the same inflectional form for inducements made to all three persons. Cf:

> In principle, one could imagine a language with full morphological paradigms for each of these functions, maybe even inflecting for person, number, etc. In practice, this happens very rarely, if at all. At least, we are aware of no such language. (KÖNIG & SIEMUND 2007: 313)

Therefore, forms available in all three persons will be classified as Optative in this paper.

The following three categories are thus attested in the optative domain in Daghestanian languages:

Jussive. I call Jussive those forms which are used to express 3rd person imperative meaning (indirect inducement) and which are available for the 3rd person only (Kumyk *-sIn*, Archi *-ba*) or primarily (cf. below the cases of Tsakhur and Icari). In some languages, the Jussive is also used to express blessings and curses addressed to the 3rd person.

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person			
2nd person			
3rd person	Jussive	(optional extension)	

Table 6: The domain of the Jussive

Performative optative. I will call Performative optative those forms which are used to express blessings and curses and which are available either to 1/2/3 persons (Khwarshi) or to 2nd person only (Kumyk). In some languages, this form can also be used to express 3rd person imperative meaning (Khwarshi *-otɬo*).

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		[Performative optative]	
2nd person		Performative optative	
3rd person	(optional extension)	[Performative optative]	

Table 7: The domain of the Performative optative

Desiderative optative. I call Desiderative optative those forms which are used to express a wish of the speaker, something that s/he is dreaming of. According to the data in section 4, it is not typical of East Caucasian languages to have an inflectional form dedicated to the expression of this meaning. Note that conditionals, subjunctives and conjunctives are ex-

cluded from the present consideration, because the expression of wishes is not the main function of these forms. All languages for which I possess data have this form available for all three persons.

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person			Desiderative optative
2nd person			Desiderative optative
3rd person			Desiderative optative

Table 8: The domain of the Desiderative optative

In section 4, the principles suggested above for differentiating the three volitional categories will be applied to the volitional systems of a number of East Caucasian languages.

4. Optatives in other languages of the sample

4.1. The sample

In this section, I will survey the Optative domain in a number of East Caucasian languages. The language sample was mainly determined by the availability of data. For each language, only dedicated optative forms and constructions were considered, since it is not always possible to obtain information about non-dedicated means of expressing the meanings in question. The languages represented in the sample, including those already treated in section 2 above, are given in Table 9.

4.2. Andic languages

4.2.1. Bagvalal

Bagvalal has a system of volitional moods typical of Daghestan: there is only one relevant inflectional form, which combines the meanings of the 1/2/3 Performative optative and the Jussive. This form is derived from the 2nd person imperative by means of the suffix *-la*.

Andic	Akhvakh
	Bagvalal
Tsezic	Bezhta
	Hunzib
	Khwarshi
Lezgic	Agul
	Archi
	Kryz
	Lezgian
	Rutul
	Tsakhur
	Udi

Dargi	Icari
Lak	Lak
Nakh	Chechen
Turkic	Kumyk

Table 9: Language sample

(43) Blessings and curses [DOBRUSHINA 2001: 327]
du-w *waša* ***w-uɬu-la*** *ʕaq'luja-w,*
you.SG.GEN-M son **M-become.IMP-PFM.OPT** clever-M
kuwata-w!
strong-M
'May your son become clever and strong!'

(44) Indirect command [DOBRUSHINA 2001: 327]
o-š:u-r *o-b* *ħalt'i* ***ǯa:-la***
he-OBL-ERG this-N job **make.IMP-PFM.OPT**
'Let him carry out this task.'

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		Performative optative (*-la*)	
2nd person		Performative optative (*-la*)	
3rd person	Performative optative (*-la*)	Performative optative (*-la*)	

Table 10: The domain of Bagvalal Jussive-Optative forms

4.2.2. Akhvakh

The Akhvakh[10] Performative optative is structurally similar to the Archi Jussive, since it originates from the combination of the imperative of the main verb and the imperative of the verb 'to say': cf. *tɬ'ib-a* 'dance!' (imperative) > *tɬ'ib-a-tɬ'a* 'let him dance!' (optative), lit. 'dance-say':

> The origin of this optative form is the grammaticalization of a construction whose original meaning was that the speaker asks the addressee to transmit a command to a third person. For example, a construction that originally expressed *Tell him "Go!"* has probably been reanalyzed as expressing *Let him go!* before developing typical optative meanings. (CREISSELS, ms.)

However, Akvakh differs from Archi: firstly, its Performative optative is used both for indirect commands and for friendly and unfriendly wishes, and secondly, it is not restricted to the 3rd person.

[10] I am grateful to DENIS CREISSELS, who provided information on the Akhvakh dialect spoken in Axaxdärä near Zaqatala (Azerbaijan).

Unfortunately, there are no clear examples of this form with 2nd person subject. Although DENIS CREISSELS informs me that he has encountered these forms in speech, the relevant examples have not been written down. Apparently, 3rd person usages are much more widespread.

Performative optative

(45) 1st person blessings and curses

me-ne ***w-utɬ'-ũča,*** *ač'a* *ʁuruši-gu* *če* *k'ebek'i-la*
I-ABS **M-die-PFM.OPT**ten ruble-EL one kopeck-ADD
kamilaj-e *šoɬ-ike*
miss-CVB.N be.good-IPF.NEG.N
'May I die rather than accept the ten rubles if even one kopeck is missing.'

(46) Blessings and curses, 2nd or 3rd person (not clear)

saχɬila ***b-ik'-ũča(tɬ'a)!***
health **N-be-PFM.OPT**
'Be healthy!'

(47) 3rd person blessings and curses

miq'i *b-it'-e* ***aχ-ũča!***
road N-be.straight-CVB.N **open-PFM.OPT**
'Have a nice trip!' ('May your road be straight!')

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		Performative optative (*-atɬ'a*)	
2nd person		Performative optative (*-atɬ'a*) (presumably)	
3rd person	Performative optative (*-atɬ'a*) (presumably)	Performative optative (*-atɬ'a*)	

Table 11: The domain of Akhvakh Jussive-Optative forms

4.3. Tsezic languages

4.3.1. Bezhta

Bezhta[11] follows the same Jussive-Optative pattern as Khwarshi, Akhvakh and Bagvalal. The Performative optative with suffix *-ala* combines the expression of blessings and curses (1/2/3 persons) and of indirect command (3rd person).

Performative optative

(48) 1st person blessings and curses

so ***j-uʁ-ala*** *do* *hogco-l* *aqo* *j-etɬ'-a:s*
I **II-die-PFM.OPT** I he.OBL-DAT bride II-go-PRS.NEG
'May I die, but I won't marry him.'

[11] The Bezhta data were kindly provided by ZAIRA KHALILOVA.

(49) 2nd person blessings and curses
mi *bečed* ***j-aq-ala***
you.SG rich **II-happen-PFM.OPT**
'May you become rich'.

(50) 3rd person blessings and curses
dibo *ko:da* ***qoq-ala***
you.SG.GEN1 hand.PL **dry-PFM.OPT**
'May your hands wither' (cursing a thief)

(51) Indirect command
mäɬmäd ***etɬ'-ala*** *maxačkala-li-ʔ*
Magomed **go-PFM.OPT** Makhachkala-OBL-ESS
'Let Magomed go to Makhachkala.'

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		Performative optative (*-ala*)	
2nd person		Performative optative (*-ala*)	
3rd person	Performative optative (*-ala*)	Performative optative (*-ala*)	

Table 12: The domain of Bezhta Jussive-Optative forms

4.3.2. Hunzib

Hunzib has a Performative optative in *-ob* which is used in 1/2/3 persons to express blessings and curses.

(52) 1st person blessings and curses [VAN DEN BERG 1995: 88]
dä ***j-uh-ob*** *du-waa* *art'o*
I **II-die-PFM.OPT** you.SG.OBL-CMPR before
'Let me die before you.'

(53) 3rd person blessings and curses
huni *bic'i* ***r-aq-ob*** [VAN DEN BERG 1995: 88]
road straight **V-happen-PFM.OPT**
'Happy journey [goodbye]' ('May the road be straight!')

According to BOKAREV (1959: 59), the same form expresses indirect command:

(54) Indirect command
n-uq-ob
V-eat-PFM.OPT
'Let him eat.'

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		Performative optative (*-ob*)	
2nd person		Performative optative (*-ob*)	
3rd person	Performative optative (*-ob*)	Performative optative (*-ob*)	

Table 13: The domain of Hunzib Jussive-Optative forms

4.4. Lezgic languages

4.4.1. Agul and Lezgian

Agul and Lezgian have an Optative-Jussive system similar to that of Khwarshi, Bezhta, Akhvakh and others. The Agul Performative optative in *-raj* and the Lezgian Performative optative in *-raj* express both blessings/curses and indirect commands.

Agul

(55) Performative optative [SOLMAZ MERDANOVA, p.c.]
žehlem-di-n *k'en-a-s* ***šu-raj*** *ge*
hell-OBL-GEN bottom-OBL-DAT **go.PF-PFM.OPT** that
'May he go to hell (literally 'to the bottom of hell')'

(56) Indirect command [Electronic corpus of Agul]
adi-raj *mi-č,* *pu-ne*
come.PF-PFM.OPT this-LAT say.PF-PFCT
'Let him come here, said (the king).'

Lezgian

(57) Performative optative [HASPELMATH 1993: 151]
wa-z *allah-di* *hamiša* *nüsret* ***gu-raj***
you.SG-DAT Allah-ERG always help **give-PFM.OPT**
'May God always help you.'

(58) Indirect command [HASPELMATH 1993: 151]
nurbala-ni *allahq:uli* *zi* *pataw* ***atu-raj***
Nurbala-and Allahquli I.GEN to **come-PFM.OPT**
'Let Nurbala and Allahquli come to me.'

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		Performative optative (*-raj*)	
2nd person		Performative optative (*-raj*)	
3rd person	Performative optative (*-raj*)	Performative optative (*-raj*)	

Table 14: The domain of Agul and Lezgian Jussive-Optative forms

4.4.2. Rutul

Rutul has a Performative optative form in *-ij*. I have examples of its Jussive use in the 3rd person, and its use as Performative optative in 1st and 3rd persons (all examples are from MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 132, 135).

Performative optative
(59) Indirect command
kix-ij
write-PFM.OPT
'Let him write!'

(60) 1st person blessings and curses
zɨ vɨ-dɨ uli-s ***ri-q'-ij***
I you.SG-GEN eye-DAT **II-die-**PFM.OPT
'May I die for your eye.'

(61) 3rd person blessings and curses
vɨ-dɨ xɨl saʁ ***ji-š-ij!***
you.SG-GEN hand healthy **IV-be-PFM.OPT**
'May your hand be healthy!'

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		Performative optative (*-ij*)	
2nd person		Performative optative (*-ij*), presumably	
3rd person	Performative optative (*-ij*)	Performative optative (*-ij*)	

Table 15: The domain of Rutul Jussive-Optative forms

4.4.3. Tsakhur

Tsakhur has two morphologically distinct forms to express Performative optative and Jussive (DOBRUSHINA 1999: 281–284). Both are based on the imperative.

The Performative Optative contains the suffix *-na.* It is available for all persons and expresses blessings and curses. The Tsakhur Performative optative is not used to express indirect command.

(62) 2rd person blessings and curses [KIBRIK 1999: 772]
saʁ-ra ***ix-e-na*** *ʁu*
healthy-ADV.I **become-IMP-PFM.OPT** you.SG.I
'Be healthy.'

(63) 3rd person blessings and curses [KIBRIK 1999: 805]
allah ***kumag-x-e-na***
Allah.I **help-I.become-IMP-PFM.OPT**
'May God help [me/you/him].'

The Jussive is formed by adding the suffix *-žе* to the imperative form. Its main function is to express indirect inducement:

(64) 3rd person indirect command [KIBRIK 1999: 833]
zaʔatexnik'-e:-d *či-s* *a:ʔid-ɨn*
livestock.expert-ERG-ADD.IV self.IV.OBL-DAT deserving-ATR
žawab ***qil-e-žе***
word.IV **IV.give-IMP-JUSS**
'Let the livestock expert give an appropriate answer to that.'

The Jussive can also express blessings and curses. In this case, it can be used with 1st and 2nd person as well. However, this usage is not typical for the Jussive and is not attested in texts; therefore, I consider the form to be a Jussive.

The Jussive-Optative system of Tsakhur looks different from a typical Daghestanian pattern, since it uses two forms to express the same meaning. A tentative explanation could look to influence from Azerbaijani, which has a dedicated Jussive form.

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		Performative optative (*-na*) (/ Jussive *-žе*)	
2nd person		Performative optative (*-na*) (/ Jussive *-žе*)	
3rd person	Jussive (*-žе*)	Performative optative (*-na*) (/ Jussive *-žе*)	

Table 16: The domain of Tsakhur Jussive-Optative forms

4.4.4. Udi

Udi has a dedicated means of expressing the Jussive. The marker is unusual for East Caucasian languages from the point of view of its morphological status. Jussive is expressed in Udi by a clitic *-q:a* which attaches to both verbal and non-verbal forms, depending on which element is in focus.

In the Nizh dialect, the clitic is used only with third person markers (I base my conclusions on data from the Udi electronic corpus and (MAISAK 2008)). It is used both as an indirect command (Jussive) and as 3rd person Performative optative.

(65) 3rd person blessing [Electronic corpus of Udi]
dirisp:aka-nan, *ef* ***pulχaš-q a-n,*** *buχaǯoʁ-on*
thank.you-2PL your.PL **greeting-JUSS-3SG** God-ERG
vaˁχ ***muˁq-q a-n-d-i,*** *ef*
you.PL.DAT **make.glad-JUSS-3SG-LV-AOR** your.PL
parč-in-a *flan* *vaχt:-a* *eˁ-b-iˁ,* *ef*
cloth-OBL-DAT some time-DAT sew-LV-AOR your.PL

därg-in-ä *tad-o-z*
clothes-OBL-DAT give-FUT-1SG
'Thank you, my compliments, may God make you happy, I will sew your material and will give you clothes in due time.' (Said by a tailor; from a narrative describing a marriage proposal)

(66) 3rd person indirect command [Electronic corpus of Udi]
ä, *taj* *t:e* *äjl-ä* *up-a,* ***har-e-q:a-n,***
VOC.M go.IMP that child-DAT say-IMP **come-PFCT-JUSS-3SG**
jaq:-jan-beˤʁ-sa *beˤjn* *hava* *hetär-ä*
wait-1PL-LV-PRS look.HORT weather which-Q.3SG
'Hey, go to that guy, let him come, we're waiting, we want to know how the weather is.'

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person			
2nd person			
3rd person	Jussive clitic (*-q:a*)	Jussive clitic (*-q:a*)	

Table 17: The domain of Udi Jussive-Optative forms

4.4.5. Kryz

The pattern seen in Kryz is also atypical of East Caucasian languages, but for different reasons: Kryz has a set of non-second imperative forms which are restricted each to one person ("hortative" – 1st person plural, "votif" – 3rd person; cf. AUTHIER 2009).

The Kryz Jussive ("votif") is used in the 3rd person only and expresses the meaning of indirect command:

> The "votif" or 'imperative of the third person' is considered by the speaker to be synonymous to the optative, but does not occur in wishes or curses, where the optative is typically used. It is used in advices, polite or indirect orders, and is often followed by the particle *ʁvaj*, a loan from Azerbaijani where it is the imperative form of 'put', 'let'. (AUTHIER 2009: 274)

(67) *ʁvaj* *va* *i-nkan-i* *pul* ***tu-ʁa-tir!***
PTCL 2SG.GEN PV-IPF.remain-PTCP money **PV-carry-JUSS**
'Make/let him bring back the rest of your money.'

Kryz also has a Performative optative with the same range and distribution of meanings as in other East Caucasian languages: this form expresses blessings and curses in 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons, but indirect inducement in the 3rd person only.

Performative Optative [AUTHIER 2009: 273–274]
(68a) 1st person blessings and curses
riχ *ja-r-t'-i-n-kar* ***iši*** *zin!*
ROAD PV-IPF-CUT-PTCP-H-SUBEL **BE.PFM.OPT** 1SG

'Call me a burglar' (lit. May I be a burglar (=one who cuts the roads) [if I ever put my hands on the sheep!])

(68b) 2nd person blessings and curses

vun *ja-har-a* *xi-ǯi* ***q'aj-i!***
2SG PV-flay-ADJ be-SEQ **die-PFM.OPT**
'I wish they would flay you alive!' (lit. May you die flayed)

(68c) 3rd person blessings and curses

ja *girt-anda* *iǯin-a* *χajirlu* *jiʁ-ri*
2PL.GEN all-HPL.GEN face-IN blessed day-PL
ʁi-t-i!
PV-N.emerge-PFM.OPT
'Let every day dawn just as favourable to you all!'

Thus, the Kryz Jussive and Performative optative are used synonymously to express 3rd person indirect command: "The optative is semantically very close to the "votive"; the speakers perceive the two forms as synonymous" (AUTHIER 2009: 273):

Performative Optative and Jussive

(69) Indirect command

j-u-ɣun, *sas* *ar,* ***ʕa-b-xir-i*** *uǯa,*
PV-F-go.IMP voice do.IMP **PV-HPL-come-PFM.OPT** here
c'eʕ ***ʕa-ʁva-tir!***
goat **PV-bring.F-JUSS**
'Go and call them, let them come here, and let them bring the goat.'

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		Performative optative (*-i*)	
2nd person		Performative optative (*-i*)	
3rd person	Jussive (*-tir*) / Performative optative (*-i*)	Performative optative (*-i*)	

Table 18: The domain of Kryz Jussive-Optative forms

As in Tsakhur, the Jussive-Optative system in Kryz is thus 'redundant'. In view of the fact that Kryz is under strong influence from Azerbaijani, we may suppose that the 'extra' forms are due to influence from Azerbaijani, where the Jussive is conveyed by a separate form.

4.5. Icari

Icari has a Performative optative in *-ab* which expresses blessings and curses in the 2nd and 3rd persons:

(70) *salamat* ***w-irq'-ab*** [RASUL MUTALOV, p.c.]
good **M-do.IPF-PFM.OPT**
'Happy journey!' (lit. May [he] make happy)

The 1st person of the performative optative is also used with the 2nd person Agent acting on the 1st person Patient (where the use of the regular imperative is not grammatical, cf. SUMBATOVA & MUTALOV 2003: 90). Thus, the Performative Optative cannot be used to bless or curse with reference to the 1st person.

Indirect command is expressed by another form, called "noncurative" in the grammar of Icari (SUMBATOVA & MUTALOV 2003: 91) and Jussive in MUTALOV 2002: 121. This form is primarily used in the 3rd person and conveys indirect command. In addition, the form also conveys permission and indifference towards the situation, as is typical for Jussives (the same is observed in Archi, Bagvalal, Agul, Khwarshi and other languages – see DOBRUSHINA, submitted). What is atypical for a Jussive is its expansion to the 1st and 2nd persons, cf. (72). These uses are less frequent than the 3rd person use and most often convey the speaker's indifference towards the possible realization of the situation. Taking into account the higher frequency of 3rd person usages, in this paper I will consider this form as a Jussive with an unusual extension to the 1st and 2nd persons.[12]

Jussive, indirect command/permission [RASUL MUTALOV, p.c.]

(71a) *pat'ima-l* *t'ult'* ***b-erc'-ik:a***
Patimat-ERG bread.ABS **N-bake-JUSS**
'Let Patimat bake the bread.' (The speaker wants her to do it/The speaker does not object)

(71b) *u-l* *itʕaˁ* *či* *b-aˁrq'-ib-li* *b-ih-ik:a*
you-ERG this work N-do.PF-PRET-CONV N-become-JUSS
'You may do this work.' (The speaker does not object)

	Inducement	Permission and indifference	Blessings/ Curses	Wish
1st person		Jussive		
2nd person		Jussive	Optative	
3rd person	Jussive	Jussive	Optative	

Table 19: The domain of Icari Jussive-Optative forms

4.6. Lak

Lak[13] has a Performative optative in *-naw*:

(72) *wi-l* *ars* *dak'* *x:ari-nu* ***učʼan-naw***
you.SG-GEN son heart joyful-ADV **come-PFM.OPT**
'May your son come back joyful!'

[12] RASUL MUTALOV suggests that the Jussive morpheme originated from the verb *bik:araj* 'want' (MUTALOV 2002: 123).
[13] The Lak data were kindly provided by ROZA ELDAROVA.

This form is used only in traditional formulae to bless or curse. It cannot express an indirect command.

The Lak Performative optative can be directed to the 2nd person, but these constructions usually do not include a 2nd person pronoun:

(73) *dak'* *x:ari-nu* ***učʼan-naw***
heart joyful-ADV **come-PFM.OPT**
'Come back joyful!'

This form is not used with reference to the 1st person.

The formation of the Lak Jussive follows the same pattern as seen above in Archi and Akhvakh: it consists of an Imperative of the main verb + a morpheme derived from the Imperative of the verb 'say': *nasu* 'go' – *nasu-ča* 'let him go' (< *nasu učа* 'go.IMP say.IMP'). This form is available for the 3rd person only.

Jussive, indirect command
(74) *patʼimat-lu-l* *č:at'* ***šaši-ča***
Patimat-OBL-ERG bread **bake.IMP-JUSS**
Let Patimat bake the bread.'

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person			
2nd person		Performative optative (*-naw*)	
3rd person	Jussive (*-ča*)	Performative optative (*-naw*)	

Table 20: The domain of Lak Jussive-Optative forms

4.7. Chechen

The Chechen[14] Jussive-Optative system is completely different from that of the Daghestanian languages. First of all, Chechen has no dedicated inflectional means of expressing indirect command. A form with Jussive meaning is built in Chechen as an imperative from the causative of the main verb. For example: *dˁa-ʁuo* [away-go.IMP] 'go!' – *dˁa-v-a-χi:t-a* [away-1-go-CAUS-IMP] 'let him go!'. Interestingly, a similar pattern is attested in Circassian languages (KUMAKHOV 1971) and probably in Hunzib (see above).

2nd person command (Imperative)
(75a) ***mal-a*** *χi*
drink-IMP water
'Drink the water!'
Indirect command (Jussive)
(75b) ***mal-i:t-a*** *χi*
drink-CAUS-IMP water
'Let her/him drink the water!'

[14] The Chechen data were kindly provided by ZARINA MOLOCHIEVA.

(75c) *p'e:t'mat-ie* *be:pig* ***d-a-it-a***
Patimat-ALL bread **III-make-CAUS-IMP**
'Let Patimat make bread!'

Second, Chechen has three inflectional optative forms. The Optative form in *-alara* is available for all persons. It is used to express the wish of the speaker, something s/he dreams about:

(76) *c'a:* ***d-alara*** *ħa(n)*
house **III-be.OPT** you.SG.GEN
'If only you had a house of your own!'

This form has no other usages; it can thus be considered as a rare example of the Desiderative optative, a category which is not typical of other East Caucasian languages but which is attested in Kumyk and Abkhaz (see above).

Chechen also has two forms of Performative optative. The first Performative optative in *-ħa:ra* (PFM.OPT1) is used to express blessings and curses with reference to any person. Note that in this case the suffix *-ħa:ra* is attached to the present stem. This distinguishes it from the form with the same affix attached to the past stem, which is used to mark the protasis of unreal conditional constructions. The *-ħa:ra* form with the present stem cannot mark conditional constructions.

Performative optative 1
(77) 2nd person blessings and curses
lo-ħa:ra *ħo*
die-PFM.OPT1 you.SG
'May you die!'

(78) 3rd person blessings and curses
c'a:nc'a c'a ***ma-jo:ʁ-ħa:ra*** *za:ra*
never home **NEG-II-come.PRS-PFM.OPT1** Zara
'May Zara never come back home!'

The second Performative optative in *-jla* is restricted to the 2nd person only. It has no other usages.

Performative optative 2
(79) *neq'* *dika* ***xi:jla***
way good **COP.PFM.OPT2**
'Have a good journey!' ('May the way be good')

(80) *ʁuoza* ***lielajo-jla***
with.enjoyment **carry-PFM.OPT2**
'Wear it with enjoyment! (Enjoy wearing it!)' (E.g. when somebody buys a new dress)

The distribution of forms in *-ħa:ra* and in *-jla* in the 2nd person is unclear.

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		Performative optative 1 (*-ħa:ra*)	Optative (*-alar / -alara*)
2nd person		Performative optative 1 (*-ħa:ra*) / Performative optative 2 (*-jla)*	Optative (*-alar / -alara*)
3rd person	Jussive (= verb.CAUS.IMP)	Performative optative 1 (*-ħa:ra*)	Optative (*-alar / -alara*)

Table 21: The domain of Chechen Jussive-Optative forms

5. Conclusions

5.1. Typical patterning of Optative and Jussive: summary

Below are tables summarizing the distribution of Optative and Jussive functions in the languages of the sample.

An inflectional Jussive is attested in Archi, Kryz, Icari, and Lak (Table 22).

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person			
2nd person			
3rd person	+		

Table 22: Distinct inflectional form for Jussive: Archi, Kryz, Icari, Lak

Kumyk, Tsakhur and Udi also use this form to express 3rd person blessings and curses (Table 23).

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person			
2nd person			
3rd person	+	+	

Table 23: Distinct inflectional form for Jussive, also used for third person blessings/curses: Kumyk, Tsakhur, Udi

Most frequent is the combination of Jussive and Performative optative functions in a single form, attested in Khwarshi, Bagvalal, Bezhta, Agul, Lezgian, Rutul and Kryz (Table 24).

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		+	
2nd person		+	
3rd person	+	+	

Table 24: Combination of Performative Optative and Jussive meanings in one form: Khwarshi, Bagvalal, Bezhta, Agul, Lezgian, Rutul, Kryz

Certain languages have a Performative optative form which does not express Jussive: Tsakhur, Icari, Lak and Chechen (Table 25).

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person		+	
2nd person		+	
3rd person		+	

Table 25: Inflectional form dedicated to the Performative optative, 1/2/3 persons: Tsakhur, Icari, Lak, Chechen

Two patterns – a Performative optative limited to the 2nd person on the one hand, and an inflectional Desiderative optative on the other – are attested only in Kumyk and Chechen (Tables 26–27).

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person			
2nd person		+	
3rd person			

Table 26: An inflectional form dedicated to 2nd person Performative optative: Kumyk, Chechen

	Inducement	Blessings/Curses	Wish
1st person			+
2nd person			+
3rd person			+

Table 27: An inflectional form dedicated to the Optative proper: Kumyk, Chechen

5.2. Typical patterning of Optative and Jussive

At the start of this paper I put forward the assumption that inflectional Optatives may be an areal feature of the Caucasus. This has been confirmed by data from 15 languages from the Nakh-Daghestanian family and one Turkic language of Daghestan.

Another result of the survey is that Daghestanian languages are in certain ways opposed to both (genetically unrelated) Kumyk and (genetically related) Chechen:

- the languages of Daghestan tend to use a single form for the expression of blessings and curses and for indirect command;
- they usually have a Performative optative available for all three persons;
- they have no inflectional means of expressing the Desiderative optative.

These are the properties which contrast the non-Nakh East Caucasian languages spoken in Daghestan and Northern Azerbaijan both with Nakh languages outside Daghestan and with non-Daghestanian languages in Daghestan.

5.3. Typological conclusions

One of the aims of this paper was to provide typological argumentation in favour of distinguishing between two different kinds of optatives. The Performative optative is dedicated to the expression of blessings and curses (considered as an attempt to change the world by an appeal to supernatural powers). The Desiderative optative expresses a powerless wish of the speaker (his/her dreams etc.).

Several generalizations can be suggested on the basis of the data from Daghestan.

- The Performative optative (blessings and curses) tends to be expressed by a dedicated grammatical form much more often than the Desiderative optative.
- In my sample, there are no cases where both Performative and Desiderative optative uses are combined in the same form.
- The typical means of expressing the Desiderative optative are conditional, subjunctive and irrealis forms.
- By contrast, the Performative optative combines with imperative forms, particularly the Jussive.

The optative domain is thus clearly split into two different semantic zones.

The first zone, Performative optative, emphasizes the fulfilment of the wish. Like the use of the imperative, the use of this form represents an attempt to make the wish come true. Unlike the imperative, however, the Performative optative launches an appeal not to the addressee but to supernatural powers. The semantic closeness of Performative optative and Imperative gives rise to frequent combinations of Performative optative and Jussive in the same form.

The second semantic zone, Desiderative optative, conceptualizes the wish as an utterance about a hypothetical or counterfactual situation which is favourable or desirable for the speaker. Desiderative optative constructions serve to express the emotional attitude of the speaker towards a situation which is far from being realized. Therefore, the categories most closely related to the Desiderative optative are those which evaluate the situation as unreal (Conditional, Subjunctive, Irrealis).

According to the available data, the categories of Performative and Desiderative optative appear to be almost totally unrelated. Nonetheless, in typological literature and grammars they are referred to by the same term – optative. The Caucasian data suggest that one reason for this may be the lack of descriptive data. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that a typological connection between the two categories will be discovered in other families and areas, if languages are found which use the same form for both meanings.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	person
I, II, III, IV,	gender
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ADD	additive
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
ALL	allative
AOR	aorist
ATR	attributive
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
CMPR	comparative
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
CONT	localization 'cont'
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
DES.OPT	desiderative optative
EL	elative
ERG	ergative
ESS	essive
EVID	evidential
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
H	human
HORT	hortative
HPL	human plural
IMP	imperative
IN	localization 'in'
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
IPF	imperfective
JUSS	jussive
LAT	lative
LOC	locative
LV	light verb
M	masculine
N	neutral
NEG	negative
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PERSPL	first/second person plural
PF	perfective
PFCT	perfect/perfective past
PFM.OPT	performative optative
PL	plural
POT	potential future
PREP	prepositional case
PRET	preterite
PRS	present
PST	past
PST.W	witnessed past
PTCL	particle
PV	preverb
Q	question
SUBJ	subjunctive
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SUBEL	subelative
SUPER	localization 'super'
VOC	vocative

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NINA SUMBATOVA (Moscow)

Person hierarchies and the problem of person marker origin in Dargwa: facts and diachronic problems

Abstract

The Dargwa languages are well known for their complex person marking systems, which in most cases include three person-marking sets distributed across different TAM paradigms. This paper presents an overview of person marking systems in the Dargwa dialects. It shows that in Dargwa, two basic tendencies of person ranking are observed: some dialects (especially those located in the North of the Dargwa-speaking area) invariably place 1st and 2nd person on the same level of the hierarchy, while other dialects (especially those located in the South-West) give preference to the 2nd person. The paper also suggests several ideas for diachronic explanations of these tendencies.

1. Introduction

Dargwa constitutes a separate subgroup within the Nakh-Daghestanian group. It is spoken by approximately 500,000 speakers (estimate, 2002) in the eastern part of the Republic of Daghestan (Russian Federation). The adjacent languages are Avar, Lak, Agul, Tabassaran (Nakh-Daghestanian), Kumyk (Turkic) and Tat (Indo-Iranian).

Dargwa is well known for its dialectal divergences; different descriptions count from 11 up to approximately 40 dialects (17 in the recent Atlas by Yuri Koryakov (2006)). The standard variant of Dargwa is based on the Aqusha dialect and uses Cyrillic script, which replaced the first Dargwa alphabet in 1938. The first alphabet, based on Latin graphics, had been used since 1928. Dargwa literacy and the formation of a standard Dargwa variety were brought about in the 1920s, the years of the Soviet policy of "language construction". The tradition of treating Dargwa as a single language generally dates back to that period[1] (cf. ZHIRKOV 1926). The linguistic grounds for this approach are doubtful, since the so-called dialects of Dargwa show essential differences in grammar and lexicon. Neither is this approach supported by diachronic considerations – the

[1] P. K. USLAR, who in 1892 published the first description of a Dargwa dialect, applies the term *jazyk* 'language' both to the Uraxi (*hurqili*) dialect that he described and to Dargwa as a whole (USLAR 1892).

most probable date of divergence for the Dargwa language group is the end of the first millennium B.C. (KORYAKOV 2006). However, in this paper I shall follow tradition and use the term "dialect" when discussing the different idioms of the Dargwa group.

Traditionally (BYXOVSKAJA 1940; ABDULLAEV 1954; XAJDAKOV 1985 and others), Dargwa dialects are subdivided into two branches; the Northern (Aqusha-type) dialects and the Southern (Tsudakhar-type) dialects. The main distinction which this division is based on concerns geminate consonants, which are present in the Southern dialects and absent in the Northern subgroup. Another notable difference is the 1st person singular personal pronoun: in Aqusha and other Northern dialects it is *nu*, while in the Southern dialects it is *du*. Since the inventory of the Dargwa dialects is not identical in different works, the following list of dialects is not exhaustive:[2]

- *Southern dialects*: Tsudakhar, Kubachi, Ashti, Icari, Chirag, Kaitag, Mugi, Muira, Sirhwa, Amux
- *Northern dialects*: Uraxi, Gubden, Kadar, Urkarax, Aqusha, Mehweb.

The official view on Dargwa as a single language has influenced the study of its varieties. Most descriptive works have been focused on the standard language (see especially ABDULLAEV 1954; MUSAEV 1999, 2002; VAN DEN BERG 2001). There are also descriptions of the following dialects: Uraxi (USLAR 1892), Kubachi (MAGOMETOV 1963), Mehweb (MAGOMETOV 1982), Icari (SUMBATOVA & MUTALOV 2003), Kajtag (TEMIRBULATOVA 2004). All these descriptions are far from comprehensive; most of them are confined to phonetics and morphology. For the remaining dialects we only have sporadic remarks in a few papers (the most substantial of these being MAGOMETOV 1962, 1976, 1978; VAN DEN BERG 1999). Below, when referring to 'all' or 'most' dialects of Dargwa, I mean 'all/most dialects for which I have the relevant information'.

Dargwa and its closest relative Lak belong to the few Nakh-Daghestanian languages with a well-developed category of person (for a review of person agreement in the Nakh-Daghestanian languages see HELMBRECHT 1996). Besides Dargwa and Lak, person agreement is found in Bats (Nakh), Akhvakh (Andic), Tabassaran and Udi (Lezgic). Unlike in some of these languages (see also section 5.1), the origin of person markers in Dargwa and Lak is obscure. At this point, we have few ideas any more illuminating than those formulated by N. S. Troubetzkoy in 1929 (see section 5.2).

In Dargwa, the syntactic category of person is closely connected to the different tense-aspect-mood systems: different person marking sets are dis-

[2] KORYAKOV (2006) suggests a different, more complex classification in which the Northern dialects constitute one group from a total of six. However, the binary opposition is convenient for the purposes of this paper, and I shall use it here.

tributed over the TAM paradigms and therefore split the TAM systems into several (usually three) classes of paradigms showing certain functional similarities (see section 4).

The aim of this paper is to present an overview of the category of person in the different dialects of Dargwa. It is organized as follows: section 2 treats the rules for person agreement control; in section 3 the morphology of person markers is described; section 4 studies the distribution of different marker sets across the TAM paradigms. In the descriptive parts of the paper I shall try to review all the data found in existing publications as well as in my own field materials. Finally, in section 5, I shall turn to the problem of the origin of person markers and consider whether an analysis based on the whole of the data presented in sections 2–4 can help to suggest some new ideas concerning the source of person markers in Dargwa.

2. Person agreement control

Most Nakh-Daghestanian languages have class agreement, which is expressed by a very limited set of class agreement markers (most commonly prefixes) and typically controlled by the S/O argument. In Dargwa, class agreement is expressed by class agreement markers which can appear both as prefixes and suffixes. In most cases, class agreement is controlled by the absolutive argument.[3]

Unlike class agreement, personal agreement is much more oriented towards the ergative subject. Normally, person agreement is controlled by the ergative NP (in most cases encoding the agent)[4] or by the absolutive (S/O) argument. There exist several variants of rules determining the choice of person agreement controller, but there is no dialect where person agreement is invariably controlled by the absolutive NP. Below is the list of control rules attested.

(1) Person hierarchy

Several dialects apply a control rule entirely based on the person hierarchy, where 2nd person is located higher than 1st person: 2 > 1 > 3. These dialects are Icari (SUMBATOVA & MUTALOV 2003), Kajtag (MAGOMETOV 1976), Qunqi and Amux (own field data, 2007). They are all Tsudakhar-type dialects located in the south of the Dargwa area.

[3] Some dialects, including Aqusha, allow ergative control of the class agreement marker within the copula.

[4] In Dargwa, the ergative can also be used to encode non-core arguments (e.g. the instrument). Agreement can only be controlled by an ergative encoding the agent (and in a few cases the experiencer). With a few verbs (most frequently 'want, love'), the properties of the subject are shared between the absolutive and the dative/superlative NP encoding the experiencer: both are able to control person agreement.

In these dialects, if one of the arguments is in the 2nd person, the verb takes the 2nd person form (examples (1a–d) from Icari):

(1a) *du-l* *u* *r-uc-ib-di.*
I-ERG you.SG(ABS) F-catch.PF-PRET-2
'I caught you (F).'

(1b) *u-l* *du* *uc-ib-di.*
you.SG-ERG I(ABS) M.catch.PF-PRET-2
'You caught me (M).'

If none of the core arguments is in the 2nd person, but one is in the 1st person, the verb is marked for 1st person:

(1c) *du-l* *ʁuˁr* *b-uc-ib-da.*
I-ERG hare(ABS) N-catch.PF-PRET-1
'I caught a hare.'

If both participants are in the third person, the verb does not take a person marker:

(1d) *murad-il* *ʁuˁr* *b-uc-ib*
Murad-ERG hare(ABS) N-catch.PF-PRET
'Murad caught a hare.'

(2) Person hierarchy, absolutive

In Standard Dargwa and Aqusha, as well as in the Uraxi dialect (VAN DEN BERG 1999; USLAR 1892; MAGOMETOV 1976), personal agreement follows the hierarchies 1, 2 > 3 and Absolutive > Ergative: if one of the core arguments of a transitive verb is a speech act participant and the other argument is not, verb agreement is controlled by the speech act participant, whether ergative or absolutive. If both arguments are speech act participants, the verb agrees with the absolutive noun phrase (examples (2a–e) from VAN DEN BERG 2001: 16):

(2a) *nu-ni* *ħu* *r-it-i-ri.*
me-ERG you.SG(ABS) F-beat-AOR-2
'I beat you (F).' (the verb is in the 2nd person form)

(2b) *ħu-ni nu r-it-i-ra.* 'You beat me (F).' (1st person)

(2c) *dudeš-li nu r-it-i-ra.* 'Father beat me (F).' (1st person)

(2d) *nu-ni rursi r-it-i-ra.* 'I beat the girl.' (1st person)

(2e) *dudeš-li rursi r-it-ib-Ø.* 'Father beat the girl.' (3rd person)

The case hierarchy which places the absolutive higher than the ergative is less important here than the person hierarchy: the former comes into operation only when the person hierarchy is not sufficient to choose the agreement controller.

(3) Person hierarchy, ergative

In the dialect of Chirag (KIBRIK 2003: 483–485), the hierarchies are 1, 2 > 3 and Ergative > Absolutive: as in the previous case, if one of the core arguments of a transitive verb is a speech act participant and the other argument is not, the verb is marked for agreement with the speech act participant; if both arguments of a transitive verb are speech act participants, it is the ergative NP that controls agreement:[5]

(3a)	*dicce*	*ʃu*	*r-iqqan-da*.
	me-ERG	you.SG(ABS)	F-lead-1
	'I lead you (F).' (the verb is in the 1st person form)		
(3b)	*ʃicce du r-iqqan-de*.		'You lead me (F).' (2nd person)
(3c)	*dicce it r-iqqan-da*.		'I lead her.' (1st person)
(3d)	*ite du r-iqqan-da*.		'He/she leads me (F).' (1st person)
(3e)	*ite russe r-iqqle*.		'He/she leads the girl.' (3rd person)

(4) Ergative control

In Kubachi (MAGOMETOV 1963: 274–275; 1976), the ergative agent controls person agreement in most cases (examples (4a–f)). However, when the ergative noun phrase is third person, the absolutive can preempt agreement control, as in sentences (4g) and (4h) (examples (4a–h) from MAGOMETOV 1976).

(4a)	*dudil*	*u*	*gap*	*w-i:q'-ul-da*
	I.ERG	you.SG(ABS)	praise	M-do.IPF-PRS-1
	'I am praising you.' (the verb in the 1st person form)			
(4b)	*udil id gap wi:q'ul-de*		'You are praising him.' (2nd person)	
(4c)	*udil du gap wi:q'ul-de*		'You are praising me (M).' (2nd person)	
(4d)	*iddil du gap wi:q'ul-saw*[6]		'He is praising me (M).' (3rd person)	
(4e)	*iddil u gap wi:q'ul-saw*		'He is praising you (M).' (3rd person)	
(4f)	*iddil id gap wi:tul-saw*		'He is praising him.' (3rd person)	
(4g)	*iddil du gap wi:q'ul-da*		'He is praising me (M).' (1st person)	
(4h)	*iddil u gap wi:q'ul-de*		'He is praising you (M).' (2nd person)	

In Mehweb, personal agreement (see section 3.4) is invariably controlled by the ergative agent (MAGOMETOV 1982: 97, 119).

(5a)	*nuni ħu warzur-ra*	'I praised you.' (1st person)
(5b)	*nuni it warzur-ra*	'I praised him.' (1st person)
(5c)	*ħuni nu warzur*	'You praised me.' (2nd/3rd person)
(5d)	*ħuni it warzur*	'You praised him.' (2nd/3rd person)
(5e)	*iti'ini it warzur*	'He/she praised him.' (2nd/3rd person)

[5] This rule is valid for non-periphrastic verb forms. With periphrastic forms there are other control options (for details see KIBRIK 2003).

[6] *-saw* (*-sa-w*) is the copula, which appears in the third person of certain TAM paradigms (*-w* is the masculine class marker cross-referencing the absolutive NP).

An important thing to notice is that the person hierarchies determining control of person agreement are either 2 > 1 > 3 or 1, 2 > 3. In no dialect is 1st person placed higher in the hierarchy than 2nd person; meanwhile, the reverse situation (2 > 1) is observed in several dialects.

When discussing first, 2nd and 3rd person forms in what follows we are naturally referring to the person of the controller, whatever this may be in the dialect under discussion.

3. Morphology of person marking in Dargwa: marker sets

Most Dargwa dialects have several (in the most typical case, three) person marker sets. Though the parallels between dialects are not always obvious, three basic sets can be easily singled out and traced in most dialects. I label them the clitic set, the D-set and the I-set. These sets are correlated with different TAM paradigms (see section 4).

Unlike Lak, Dargwa consistently opposes the 1st and 2nd person, at least in the singular forms. The only dialect marking the 1st person alone (in declarative sentences) is Mehweb. In sections 3.1–3.3, the Mehweb data are not taken into account. This variety is considered in more detail in section 3.4.

3.1. Person marking: basic sets

3.1.1. Clitic set

This set comprises those morphemes that show clitic properties. These markers modify a clause rather than a verb form; they are compatible with various parts of speech. In verbal clauses, clitic person markers are normally used within verb forms containing a converb (or, less frequently, a participle), cf. the following forms in Icari: *burcat:i-da* ‘I am catching’ (present converb + 1st person clitic *-da*), *rurcibli-da* ‘I (F) am caught’ (perfective converb + *-da*), *rucibli-da* ‘I (F) have been caught’ (imperfective converb + *-da*), *burcibci-di* ‘you have apparently caught’ (perfective participle + 2nd person singular clitic *-di*), etc.

In nominal predicate clauses and in argument-focus structures, clitic person markers accompany noun phrases and other non-verbal constituents (prepositional phrases, adverbs, adjectives, participles, etc.).

	Aqusha		
(6a)	*nu*	*w-ak’-i-ra*	*quli*
	I(ABS)	M-come.PF-AOR-1	home
	‘I came home’.		

(6b) *nu-ra* *w-ak'-ib-si* *quli*
I(ABS)-1 M-come.PF-AOR-ATR home
'It was I who came home' [example from XAJDAKOV 1985: 195–196]

Qunqui

(7) *ča* *u-di?* – *pat'imat(-da)*
who(ABS) you.SG(ABS)-2 Patimat(-1)
'Who are you? – I am Patimat.'

(8) *du-de* *lal-ti* *et:ij*
I(ERG)[7] -2 that-PL(ABS) you.SG.DAT
peškeš-d-arq'-ib-il / *peškeš-d-arq'-ib-ce*
present-NPL-do.PF-PRET-CVB present-NPL-do.PF-PRET-ATR
'It is me who presented them to you.'

Icari

(9) *nuš:a* *urk'-bi* *ač* *χalq:-da*
we(ABS) heart-PL(ABS) open folk(ABS)-1
'We are a people with open hearts.'

(10) *ih* *ʁibij* *c'il-di-q'al* *w-aˁr-un-ci* *u*
that Gibi later-2-but(PTCL) M-go.PF-PRET-ATR you.SG(ABS)
'But you went to that Gibi [a placename] later on.'

In Northern dialects, the clitic person markers are usually *-ra* and *-ri* (or *-ra* and *-re*, respectively, as in Gubden), and in Southern dialects *-da* and *-di* (*-da* and *-de* in Kubachi, Chirag, Tsudakhar, and Qunqi).

The clitic marker set opposes the 2nd person singular (*-di*/*-de*, *-ri*/*-re*) to the 1st person singular and plural plus 2nd person plural[8], cf. Aqusha (perfect) *wak'i-ra/dak'i-ra* 'I/we came', *dak'i-ra(-ja)* 'you (PL) came'; *wak'i-ri* 'you (M.SG) came', *wak'ib/bak'ib* 'he/they came'; Icari *wiš:ib-da/diš:ib-da* 'I (M)/we, you (PL) fell asleep', *wiš:ib-di* 'you (M.SG) fell asleep', *wiš:ib/diš:ib* 'he/they fell asleep'.

Southern dialects

	SG	PL
1		*-da*
2	*-di (-de)*	

Northern dialects

	SG	PL
1		*-ra*
2	*-ri (-re)*	

Table 1: Person markers: clitic set

[7] Personal pronouns in Qunqi do not differentiate between absolutive and ergative forms (both are unmarked).

[8] In the third person, the copula *ca-b/sa-b* can be used in certain TAM forms (including actual/progressive present and perfect or resultative). Some authors (including VAN DEN BERG 2001) view the copula as the third person marker. In this paper I do not discuss this element and regard the third person as unmarked.

To my knowledge, in all dialects[9] the 2nd person singular marker of the clitic set coincides with the clitic past marker (*-di*/*-de* or *-ri*/*-re*), cf. Aqusha: *wak'il-ri* 'you (M) have come' (perfect) or 'I (M)/you (M.SG)/he had come' (pluperfect); Amux (the village of Xuduc, field data): *du tuχtur-da* 'I am a doctor', *du tuχtur-di* 'I was a doctor', *ʕu tuχtur-di* 'You are a doctor' or 'You were a doctor'.

Clitic person markers are incompatible with the clitic past marker: clauses containing the latter do not express person at all (see also section 4 below).

3.1.2. D-set

The label for this set is taken from the 2nd person singular morpheme (in Northern dialects).

The D-set includes the 1st person marker *-d*/*-s* and the 2nd person marker *-t:*/*-d*; some dialects (mainly those of the Northern branch) also have a special 1st person plural marker *-ħe* or *-ħa:*. In the 2nd person plural, a special plural marker (*-a*, *-a:* or *-aja*) can be singled out in all dialects.[10] The third person is unmarked. The markers of the D-set are shown in Table 2, and examples of paradigms can be found in Table 2:

Southern dialects

	SG	PL
1	*-d*	
2	*-t:*	

	SG	PL
1	*-d*	
2	*-t:*	*-t:-a, -t:-aja*

Northern dialects

	SG	PL
1	*-s*	*-ħe*
2	*-d*	*-d-a, -d-aja*

Table 2: Person markers: D-set

Icari

'go', subjunctive

	SG	PL
1	*arg-w-d-aj*	
2	*arg-u-t:-aj*	

'sleep', general present

	SG	PL
1	*wirx:u-d / dirx:u-d*	
2	*wirx:u-t:*	*dirx:u-t:-a*

Aqusha

'come', conditional

	SG	PL
1	*wak'a-s-li*	*dak'a-ħe-lli*
2	*wak'a-d-li*	*dak'a-d-a-lli*

Table 3: D-set: illustrative paradigms

The oppositions expressed by the D-set markers are different from those we observed in the case of the personal clitics: the 2nd person differentiates singular and plural by means of a special morpheme; the 1st and 2nd person markers never coincide; and the Northern dialects have different markers for 1st person singular and plural.

[9] Mehweb, where the second person marker does not exist, can be viewed as an exception.
[10] In Southern dialects, the plural marker is absent in some forms, cf. the subjunctive forms of Icari in Table 2.

All markers in the D-set are suffixes and are never found separate from the verb. They can be followed by other morphemes (number morphemes, markers of modality, past markers, etc.):

Icari

(11) *r-uc-u-t:-i-di-l*
F-catch.PF-TH-2-SG-PST-COND
'if he/she had caught you (F)', 'if you had caught me'

(12) *č'an-ni* *uq:-u-t:-aj-le:jk^{w}:it:i*
wind-ERG blow.PF-TH-2-SUBJ-CVB+NEG.2
'You won't be blown off by the wind!'

Uraxi (two 1st person markers in the future form)[11]

(13) *liwq'ä-s-ra* 'I will come' [ABDULLAEV 1954: 167]

Standard Dargwa (*-ri* is a secondary past clitic in the imperfect forms of the 1st and 2nd person plural)

(14) *daše-ħe-ri* 'we were going'
daša-da-ri 'you (PL) were going' [MAGOMETOV 1962: 327]

Karbuchi-Maxi (the same)

(15) *bilʃa-t:a-di* 'you (PL) were stealing' [MAGOMETOV 1962: 328]

3.1.3. I-set

This set includes the person suffixes used in the prohibitive, optative and some other paradigms, usually with similar modal meanings. As in the other two sets, the third person is left unmarked.

	SG	PL
1	*-a*	
2	*-i / -e*	*-a, -aja*

Table 4: Person markers: I-set

Aqusha

(16) *ħu* *ara-w-ir-ab-i* *talqan*
you.SG(ABS) healthy-M-be-OPT-2SG chief.ABS
'May you be healthy, chief!' [VAN DEN BERG 2001: 191]

(17) *ca* *hat'i* *b-ur-jači* *w-at-ab-a*
one(ABS) still N-stay-until M-leave.PF-OPT-1
'Let me stay, until I tell you another story!' [VAN DEN BERG 2001: 138]

[11] Normally, each TAM paradigm employs markers of only one set. However, there do exist some exceptions, as in example (13).

3.2. Number marking and paradigm configurations

As mentioned above, number is distinguished either by the choice of different person markers or by means of a special plural morpheme (*-a*, *-a:* or *-aja*), cf. Table 2–Table 4. As a rule, the plural morpheme combines with 2nd person forms only.

Less frequently, the plural morpheme is opposed to the marker *-i*, which can be analysed as a singular marker and also appears in the 2nd person only, cf. the conditional forms in Icari (example (11)).

There are no cases where number is expressed in the 1st person but not in the 2nd person. However, in many paradigms number is expressed in the 2nd person and ignored in the 1st. So the following generalizations hold for number marking:

(18a) number is distinguished either in the 2nd person only or in both the 1st and 2nd persons;
(18b) within any particular TAM paradigm, a separate number marker either does not exist or is used in the 2nd person only.

Summarizing all types of person/number oppositions attested in Dargwa dialects, we find four configurations (out of the 13 theoretically possible):

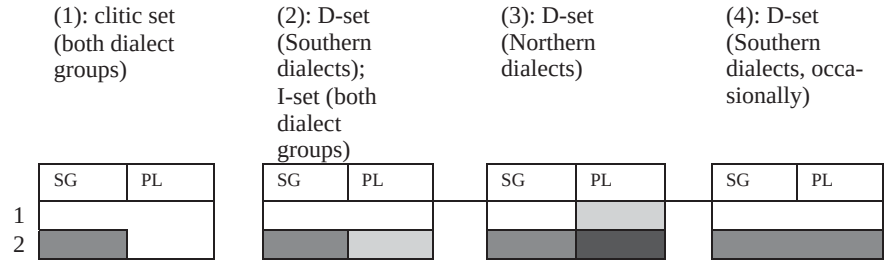


Table 5: Configurations of person/number oppositions

Examples of the paradigms in question can be found in sections 3.1.1–3.1.3.

In neither case does the 1st person show more person/number distinctions than the 2nd person: either they are equal in this respect or the 2nd person shows more distinctions. Again, the equal ranking of the 1st and 2nd person is characteristic of Northern dialects.

3.3. Minor person-marking sets

In some dialects we occasionally observe TAM paradigms with person marker sets that are not reducible to any of the four schemes drawn in the previous section. Some of them have the same configuration as one of those in Table 5, but use non-typical person markers. For example, the

dialect of Kajtag (as spoken in Jibahni) uses scheme (2) with the following clitic set (MAGOMETOV 1978):

	SG	PL
1	*-da*	
2	*-di*	*-de(-j)*[12]

Table 6: Person markers in Kajtag (Jibahni): clitic set (present)

Several dialects combine markers of different types in a single paradigm. This is the case in Uraxi (aorist) (MAGOMETOV 1962):

	SG	PL
1	*-ra*	
2	*-di*	*-da:*

Table 7: Person markers in Uraxi: aorist

Similar irregularities are observed in the preterite forms of Gubden (1SG&PL *-ra*, 2SG *-de*, 2PL *-da-ja*), Urkarax (1SG&PL *-ra*, 2SG *-t:i*, 2PL *-t:a*), and Kajtag (1SG&PL *-da*, 2SG *-t:i*, 2PL *-t:a*) (MAGOMETOV 1962). These irregularities are, incidentally, quite regular in their own way: in all the relevant instances the 2nd person uses D-set suffixes, whereas the 1st person is still expressed by clitics. The reverse (clitics in the 2nd person, suffixes in the 1st person) is not attested.

Occasionally, we also meet non-standard configurations of person/number paradigms. At least two dialects of Dargwa, namely Aqusha and Uraxi, show some instances of differential A/S vs. O person agreement. Different controllers trigger person markers from different sets. Aqusha and Standard Dargwa (ABDULLAEV 1954; VAN DEN BERG 2001) oppose A vs. O/S person markers in the future, with the following distribution:

patient / agent	1ABS	2ABS	3ABS
1ERG	*-ra*	*-ri*	*-s*
2ERG			*-d*
3ERG			*(zero)*

Table 8: Person marking in Aqusha: future

This distribution is symmetrical with respect to the 1st vs. 2nd person opposition. The Uraxi dialect also opposes subject and object agreement forms (in the aorist), but here only the 2nd person differentiates A/S vs. O endings (USLAR 1892: 158–159): the former is *-di*, and it is only used when the agent is in the 2nd person, and the absolutive the third person;

[12] *-j* is the plural marker.

the former is *-ri*, and it is used when the absolutive is in the 2nd person irrespective of the person of the ergative.

patient / agent	1ABS	2ABS	3ABS
1ERG	*-ra*	*-ri*	*-ra*
2ERG			*-di*
3ERG			*(zero)*

Table 9: Person marking in Uraxi: aorist

In both Uraxi and Aqusha, the D-set markers cross-reference the S/A argument.

Minor marker sets in the dialects of Dargwa are numerous, but none of them violates the tendency formulated in (18): the maximal grammatical differences are observed in the 2nd person.

The very special case of Mehweb is described in the next section.

3.4. The case of Mehweb

Mehweb is an isolated dialect spoken in the village of Mehweb outside the Dargwa-speaking area and surrounded by speakers of Avar and Lak. Its speakers moved from the village of Muhi to their modern location in the 8th–9th century (XAJDAKOV 1985). Many authors believe Mehweb to be an archaic variety, at least with regard to person. The reasons for this are quite straightforward: if person is a young category, and Mehweb shows fewer person oppositions than any other dialect, this has been interpreted as showing that Mehweb had not yet elaborated as many personal oppositions as other dialects when its speakers moved to their current location. However, I do not think these considerations are sufficient. The question whether the situation in Mehweb is archaic or innovative is still open, and it will be discussed in section 5.5.

Mehweb is often said to mark 1st person only. The markers are *-ra* (used in the preterite and in periphrastic forms with the copula), *-s* (general present), and *-ša*[13] (future). However, these are not true person markers: in fact, they are connected with the 1st person in declarative sentences and the 2nd person in questions, cf. the following example from (MAGOMETOV 1982: 144):

[13] This marker corresponds to two morphemes in other dialects: a modal marker (usually *-(i)š* or *-(i)ž*), and the first person marker of the optative set *-a*. However, there is no reason to divide *-ša* into two morphemes in Mehweb: the element *-š* is attested in the first person only, while the second and third person future forms are identical to the infinitive (with suffix *-es*).

(19) *– sija* *b-iq'-uwe* *le-w-ra* *ħu*?
what(ABS) N-do.IPF-PRS.CVB COP-M-2.Q you.SG(ABS)
– bazal-li-če *ar-qˁ-ül* *χalq'*
market-OBL-SUPER EL-go.IPF-PRS.ATR people(ABS)
ħark'-i-če-di *χ:was:ar* *b-iq'-uwe*
river-OBL-SUPER-PROL rescue N-do.IPF-PRS.CVB
le-w-ra.
COP-M-1.DECL
'What are you doing? – I am accompanying people going to the market across the river.'

In Mehweb, the markers *-ra/-s/-ša* point to the most prototypical topic of the sentence; in questions, which are aimed at getting information from the hearer, the 2nd person agent plays the role that in declaratives is given to the speaker.

4. Person marking in Dargwa: set distribution

Verb morphology is highly diverse across the Dargwa dialects, and it is frequently the case that functionally similar forms show different morphological structures and different origins whereas cognate and/or structurally parallel forms have different functions. However, most verb systems in these dialects have a number of core TAM paradigms which can be identified by their morphological structure rather than by their meaning.

Below I give a picture of how person marker sets are distributed over the TAM paradigms in four relatively well-known dialects: Aqusha, Kubachi, Icari and Mehweb.

Structurally, most TAM paradigms in all dialects can be divided into two groups: those which make use of separable clitics, which express person or past, and those with person suffixes. The forms of the first group constitute structurally parallel pairs: a "present" form taking person clitics, and a "past" form taking the past clitic in the same position, e.g. present and past progressive; perfect and pluperfect; evidential present and evidential past, etc. Cf. the following forms of Icari (the verb *b-uc-*(PF)*/b-urc* (IPF) 'catch'):

(20) present *burcat:i-da* (1SG&PL+2PL), *burcat:i-di* (2SG), *burcat:i-cab* (3)
past progressive *burcat:i-di* (all persons)
perfect *bucib(li)-da* (1SG&PL+2PL), *bucib(li)-di* (2SG), *bucib(li)-cab* (3)
pluperfect *bucibli-di* (all persons).

The past clitic is always identical to the 2nd person singular clitic marker, but does not express person at all.

Of course, many dialects have TAM paradigms using mixed and other non-standard person marker sets (section 3.3).

4.1. Icari

Table 10 shows the distribution of person marker sets in Icari (with certain simplifications):

Group 1	Clitic set:	present, perfect, resultative, evidential, future (+ nominal predicates with present reference[14])
	Past clitic:	past progressive, pluperfect, resultative past, evidential past (+ nominal predicates with past reference)
Group 2	D-set:	habitual (past), general present, conditional, concessive, subjunctive
	I-set:	optative, non-curative

Table 10: Distribution of person marker sets in Icari

The TAM paradigms in the first group usually head the main clauses of declarative and interrogative sentences.[15]

The forms in the second group attach person suffixes. The D-set of person markers is used with forms that normally head dependent clauses (subjunctive, conditional, concessive, etc.). A very important exception is the so-called general present, which is the form used in the formulation of common truths and also in a number of modal functions (for details, see SUMBATOVA & MUTALOV 2003). The suffixes of the I-set are used in modal forms expressing different subtypes of optative meaning (Icari has separate TAM paradigms for the optative and the so-called non-curative, which expresses the speaker's indifference to the possible occurrence of a situation).

In (SUMBATOVA in print) I attempt to show that the main distinction between forms belonging to different groups in Icari is that between assertive and non-assertive forms. The former are used as heads of sentences expressing a proposition which has a truth value of its own (declaratives and interrogatives). The latter head dependent clauses or the main clauses of non-declarative and non-interrogative utterances (wishes, commands, etc.).

[14] Nominal predicates are mentioned in the table because they take the same clitics.

[15] In dependent clauses, these forms are only possible with verbs of speech and the complementizers *(w)ik'ʷil, habi:bli* or *-a:l.*

4.2. Kubachi

Kubachi has only two person marker sets, as the I-set is absent. Optative forms use the D-set suffixes. Otherwise, the distribution of person markers is similar to that observed in Icari.

1	Clitic set:	present, perfect, future, "indefinite future", nominal predicate (present)
	Past clitic:	past progressive, pluperfect, irrealis, "indefinite past", nominal predicate (past)
2	D-set:	general present, preterite (perfective & imperfective), habitual, optative, conditional

Table 11: Distribution of person marker sets in Kubachi

4.3. Aqusha

The opposition of person marker sets in Aqusha is shown in Table 12:

1	Clitic set:	aorist, present progressive, perfect, resultative present, evidential present, nominal predicate (present)
	Past clitic:	preterite progressive, pluperfect, nominal predicate (past)
2	D-set:	imperfect (habitual), conditional
	I-set:	optative, potential
3	Mixed set (clitic set + D-set):	future

Table 12: Distribution of person marker sets in Aqusha

In Aqusha, the paradigm which is structurally parallel and cognate to the "general present" of Icari and other Southern dialects expresses future reference (Table 8). This paradigm attaches a mixed set of person markers. The forms of this future paradigm are normally used in declaratives and are unquestionably assertive. This means that the opposition of person marker sets in Aqusha is not exactly one of assertive vs. non-assertive. A better label for this opposition in Aqusha would be that of realis vs. irrealis (ELLIOTT 2000) – taking into account the fact that future, which, cross-linguistically, can be treated both as realis and irrealis, shows a mixed marker set for transitive verbs (see VAN DEN BERG 2001: 40–41).

4.4. Mehweb

The verb system of Mehweb is not as complicated as that of other dialects. Most TAM forms are periphrastic and attach the "1st person" marker *-ra* or the past marker *-re* in the present and past respectively. Non-indicative forms (conditional, irrealis), which in other dialects take person suffixes, do not express person in Mehweb. The only non-periphrastic form taking the "personal" ending is the preterite, which in

Mehweb tends to be replaced by the periphrastic form consisting of the perfective converb and the copula (labelled here as the perfect).

-ra	preterite, periphrastic forms with the present copula (actual present, perfective, future progressive, future resultative)
-re (past clitic):	periphrastic forms with the past copula (past progressive, pluperfect)
-s	general present
-ša	future

Table 13: Distribution of person marker sets in Mehweb

Whereas in other dialects the suffixal markers are characteristic of non-indicative forms heading dependent clauses, in Mehweb the category known as person is a property of indicative forms, of main clauses, of declarative and interrogative sentences. Mehweb is strikingly different from the other dialects in this respect, and the differences are not confined to the number of person markers: the very domain where "person" is expressed is different from what we observe elsewhere.

4.5. Generalizations

Most TAM paradigms common to all or most Dargwa dialects combine with person markers of the same type in different dialects:

- present and past progressive are derived from the present (imperfective) converb and take clitics: person clitics (1st and 2nd person, present), copula (3rd person, present), past clitic (past);
- perfect and pluperfect are derived from the preterite (perfective) converb and attach clitics in the same way as the present and past progressive;
- general present/future as well as conditional forms are derived from the root enlarged by the so-called thematic suffixes (*-u-*, *-i-*, *-ar-*/*-an*) and express person by means of the D-set suffixes;
- finite forms of the optative mood (with the suffix *-ab-*) take I-set suffixes;
- preterite is formed from the root with the preterite suffixes *-ib*, *-ub*, *-ur*, *-un* and has no single means of expressing person: in Aqusha, Chirag, Icari, Qunqi, Amux, etc., the preterite takes clitic endings (but no copula in the third person), and in Kubachi and Kajtag the *d*-endings, while some dialects including Uraxi and Gubden have a mixed set with a *d*-ending (*-d-i* or *-t:-i*) in the 2nd person and the clitic ending *-ra* in the 1st person.

Summarizing the typical functions of the three basic sets, we obtain the following generalizations:

- in all dialects, the clitic marker set is used in the present and perfect as well as in other forms derived from full converbs and participles;

this is the only set that can be combined with existential verbs and the affirmative copula;
- the I-set is characteristic of the optative and similar forms, and also sometimes found in forms used in the apodosis of conditional constructions;
- the D-set is attested in conditional forms and in the general present (or a morphologically parallel future form).

Prototypically, the forms with personal and past clitics in Dargwa are designed to head declarative and interrogative sentences, especially those expressing assertions and, more precisely, those expressing true statements. The *d*- and *i*-endings are typical of forms designed to head propositions without a truth value or with a negative truth value.

5. Origin of person markers

Before we proceed any further, it would be useful to remind ourselves of the following important facts:

- the 2nd person differentiates singular and plural forms much more frequently than the 1st person; there are no cases where the 1st person differentiates number but the 2nd person does not;
- only the 2nd person has a special plural morpheme (*-a*, *-aː*, or *-a-ja*); there also exists a morpheme (*-i-*) that can be analysed as a singular marker, likewise attested in the 2nd person only;
- the clitic marker of the 2nd person singular (*-di*/*-de* or *-ri*/*-re*) is always identical to the clitic past marker; the dialect of Mehweb, which marks only the 1st person declarative and 2nd person interrogative, also has a homonymous past marker (*-re*);
- some dialects show mixed marker sets in the preterite; in this case, the maximal distinctions are observed in the 2nd person (section 3.3);
- in mixed marker sets, the suffixes of the D-set refer to the subject (ergative with transitive verbs, absolutive with intransitives) and the clitic markers refer to the absolutive patient of transitive verbs;
- in dialects where agreement control is based on the person hierarchy, it either gives priority to the 2nd person (Icari, Kajtag, Qunqi, Amux) or ranks both speech act participants equally (Aqusha and others), see section 2.

The data presented in sections 2–3 and summarized here show that person ranking in Dargwa either reserves the privileged position for the 2nd person, or places both 1st and 2nd persons on the same level. The

first tendency is typical of many Southern dialects, while the second is attested in the Northern dialects:

2 > 1 in Southern dialects
2 = 1 in Northern dialects

The seemingly privileged position of the 1st person in Mehweb is an illusion resulting from the frequency of declaratives as compared to questions and other types of utterances: the morphemes traditionally described as 1st person markers do not target the 1st person in particular, but rather the most typical agent of the sentence.

Below, I investigate the possibility that these facts correlate with the hypotheses which have previously been proposed on the origin of Dargwa person markers.

5.1. Origin of person markers: possible sources

Cross-linguistically, personal endings are believed to result from the grammaticalization of personal pronouns. GIVÓN (1976: 180) claims that "verb agreement paradigms always arise from anaphoric pronoun paradigms". A similar opinion is expressed in other works treating this problem: LEHMANN (1988; 1995: 39–42) describes agreement markers as a stage in the grammaticalization of personal pronouns. Pronouns are the only source of agreement markers mentioned by SIEWIERSKA (1999) and SIEWIERSKA & BAKKER (1996; 2002).

In the few Nakh-Daghestanian languages that show person agreement, it is usually believed to be an innovation. In Bats and Tabassaran, person markers show an obvious similarity to personal pronouns (HOLISKY 1987; KIBRIK & SELEZNJOV 1982). For Udi, their origin in personal pronouns is reconstructed in HARRIS 2002 (see also the review of this work in SCHULZE 2004).

However, the Daghestanian data strongly suggest that personal pronouns are not the only possible source for personal agreement. Alternative sources of person markers are discussed for several languages of the group. In Tsakhur, for example, the main predicate of thetic sentences is normally expressed by a participle (KALININA & TOLDOVA 1999; Elena KALININA, p.c.). The 1st person pronoun, which in many cases is the default topic of the sentence, is easily dropped. The sentence is then indivisible into topic and focus (theme/rheme). This results in a frequency correlation between 1st person arguments and the participle as the head predicate of an independent clause: most sentences with a 1st person argument are headed by a participle.

On this basis, participles can be grammaticalized as 1st person forms, as has probably taken place in the Zakatal and Kusur dialects of Avar (ISAKOV 1980; SAIDOVA 1980). Here, participles have developed the

function of the 1st person forms and the participle marker has become the 1st person marker.[16]

The situation in the Axvax-dere variant of Akhvakh (CREISSELS 2008) is less clear, but it is similar to a certain extent. Here, as in Mehweb, only two person marking forms are opposed:[17] one is used in the 1st person of declarative clauses and in the 2nd person of interrogatives, and the other covers all other cases. Personal agreement is controlled by the agent of both transitive and intransitive verbs (active model). Creissels shows that this personal opposition results from the reanalysis of a former opposition between finite forms and participles: the 1st person declarative/2nd person interrogative marker *-ada* originates from the perfective participle marker, which is still present in the modern language.[18]

5.2. Origin of person markers in Dargwa: what is known now

At present, the most useful source on the problem remains the paper published by N.S. TROUBETZKOY in 1929, who investigated the origin of person markers in different Nakh-Daghestanian languages. Dargwa was represented in his sample by the Uraxi (*hurqili*) dialect described by USLAR (1892).

In Dargwa, TROUBETZKOY identified two groups of person markers, namely markers of pronominal and non-pronominal origin. The pronominal markers, according to TROUBETZKOY, are *-s* (1st person singular, future), *-ḫa* (1st person plural, future), *-d* (2nd person singular, "categorical future") and *-di* (2nd person singular, preterite), *-da:* (2nd person plural, "categorical future" and preterite); the non-pronominal markers are *-ra* (1st person singular and plural, 2nd person plural, perfect, preterite, present) and *-ri* (2nd person singular) for the same tense forms.

The pronominal markers constitute what we have called here the D-set. Their origin in the pronominal system is supported by the Proto-North-Caucasian reconstruction of NIKOLAYEV & STAROSTIN (1994), where we find the following etymologies:

[16] HELMBRECHT (1996) describes the case of Tsakhur as similar to that of Zakatal and Kusur (participle as an obligatory form marking first person). A more detailed study made in (KALININA & TOLDOVA 1999) showed that in Tsakhur there is a statistical correlation between the first person and the participial form, but no implicational relation. On the other hand, the data from Zakatal and Kusur given in ISAKOV 1980, SAIDOVA 1980 and then in HELMBRECHT 1996 are so scarce that strictly speaking we cannot be sure that the situation there is essentially different.

[17] This opposition is attested only in positive forms of the perfective.

[18] The analogous opposition in the imperfective forms was reinterpreted in a totally different way. The former participle took on the functions of the habitual, while the former finite imperfective now has two semantically unrelated functions, representing the usual narrative form in declarative sentences and expressing necessity in questions (CREISSELS 2008).

- 1SG: *-s* < Proto-North-Caucasian **zo* 'I';
 -d < Proto-Dargwa **du* 'I';
- 2SG: *-d*, *-t:* < Proto-North-Caucasian **du:* (oblique base of the 2nd person singular pronoun): the differences between *-d* and *-t:* fit within the standard phonological correspondences between dialects.
- 1PL: *-ħa:* < Proto-Dargwa **x:a* 'we (incl.)', cf. *nu-x:a* 'we (incl.)' (Chirag).

The non-pronominal markers mentioned by TROUBETZKOY are the affixes of our clitic set *-ra*, *-ri*. TROUBETZKOY does not put forward a hypothesis concerning their origin; neither are they found in the reconstruction by NIKOLAYEV & STAROSTIN.

The morphemes of the I-set are not mentioned in TROUBETZKOY (1929) or NIKOLAYEV & STAROSTIN (1994).

Many publications from the 1960s up to the 1980s touched on the problem of the source of person agreement in Dargwa. Their discussions mostly concern the origin of *-ra* and *-ri* (*-da* and *-di*).

MAGOMETOV (1962) suggested that all person markers developed out of the 1st person singular pronoun *du* or *nu*. This idea, which has long remained very popular among local linguists (see, for example, XAJDAKOV 1985), is based on the correlation between the forms of the pronoun 'I' and the clitic person markers: in Southern dialects these are *du* 'I' and *-da*, *-di*, in Northern dialects – *nu* 'I' and *-ra*, *-ri*. It implies that Dargwa initially developed 1st person markers, which then spread to the 2nd person domain.

MAGOMETOV's suggestion could be supported by the situation in languages such as Tsakhur and the Zakatal and Kusur dialects of Avar (ISAKOV 1980; SAIDOVA 1980), where the 1st person is obligatorily, or at least very frequently, opposed to other persons (see previous section). However, a language like Tsakhur shows how the category of person can appear, which of course does not mean that at some earlier stage the situation in Dargwa was similar to what is observed in these languages now. Very important evidence could be provided by person marking in Mehweb – if indeed Mehweb is really archaic, which we discuss below in section 5.5.

There are serious objections against the "1st person" analysis. First of all, developing 2nd person agreement markers from 1st person pronouns would be a semantically odd process. Second, this analysis is not well supported by phonetic correspondences: the consonants in *-ra/-ri* and *nu* cannot originate from the same source, and in both pairs, the correspondence of the vowels *u* and *a/i* does not fit into the reconstruction. And, finally, this approach does not explain why many Dargwa dialects place 2nd person markers in a privileged position morphologically and syntactically.

In a later work (1978), MAGOMETOV expressed the idea that non-pronominal person markers developed out of verbs (probably auxiliaries).

An argument in favour of his idea is the position of the negative prefix in Kubachi and Ashti: in most dialects, *a-* and its cognates are invariably placed before the verb stem, but here it is placed before the person clitic, cf. Ashti (field data):

(21) *j-at-ul-da* / *j-at-ul-a-da*
F-leave-PRS-1 F-leave-PRS-NEG-1
'I leave her' / 'I don't leave her'

Though the second of MAGOMETOV's suggestions is very reasonable, it is unfortunately rather vague, because we cannot point to the verbs that later developed into person clitics, and even if we could, we would still have to explain how these verbs developed their own person marking).[19]

So we cannot at present trace the origin of the clitic and I-set person markers. In this paper, I do not hope to solve the problem of their origin. What I propose to do is to split the large problem into several smaller ones and try to find reasonable solutions to at least some of them.

5.3. Age: are person markers actually young? Are all sets of markers the same age?

The etymologies in NIKOLAYEV & STAROSTIN (1994) suggest that even within the D-set the suffixes are not all of the same age: the markers of the 2nd person singular in both dialect groups and the 1st person singular suffix of the Northern dialects originated in Proto-North-Caucasian personal pronouns, whereas the sources of the 1st person marker of the Southern dialects and the 1st person plural markers in Northern dialects are identified at a later (Proto-Dargwa) level. In a previous synchronic stage the existing person oppositions looked somewhat different, as shown in Table 14:

In both stages, the Northern dialects show symmetry between the 1st and 2nd persons, whereas the Southern dialects maintain the primacy of the 2nd person. This is parallel to the rules for control (section 2): in several Southern dialects, control rules privilege the 2nd person, whereas the control rules of the Northern dialects are symmetrical with respect to the 1st vs. 2nd person opposition.

	STAGE 1		STAGE 2	
Northern dialects	1 (SG?):	< **zo*	1SG:	*-s* (< **zo*)
	2 (SG?):	< **du:*	1PL:	*-ħa:* (< **x:a*)
			2SG:	*-d* (< **du:*)
			2PL:	*-d + (j)a*

[19] Similar doubts were expressed by HELMBRECHT (1996: 134) with respect to Lak.

	STAGE 1		STAGE 2	
Southern dialects	1	unmarked	1SG:	*-d* < **du:*
	2 (SG?):	< **du:*	2SG:	*-t:* < **du:*
			2PL:	*-t: + (j)a*

Table 14: Development of pronominal person markers (after NIKOLAYEV & STAROSTIN 1994; D-set)

Turning to clitic markers, we note that they appear to be less grammaticalized than person suffixes, first of all simply because they are clitics. As opposed to the D-set suffixes, person clitics cannot be followed by other morphemes (section 3.1.2). In the few cases where markers of two different types modify the same verb, the clitic marker follows the person suffix, cf. the Uraxi form *liwq'ä-s-ra* 'I will come' (example (13)). The clitic person markers share a single slot with the past clitic *-di* (and therefore cannot be used in combination with it), whereas the D-set suffixes, if combined with the past morpheme within a word form, always precede it, cf. example (14).

Nevertheless, the origin of the person suffixes (D-set) is relatively clear, whereas the development of the person clitics remains enigmatic. This could mean that the sources of the latter are very old elements, but that they functioned as person markers at a later period. Another important thing to note is that in mixed sets, when the choice of a clitic vs. pronominal marker is determined by person and/or by the case of the controller, we observe the same distribution in all cases: pronominal markers are chosen in the 2nd person and with ergative controllers. This fact can plausibly be connected with the etymology of the 2nd person pronominal marker, which is thought to go back to the oblique stem of the personal pronoun **du:* 'you (SG)'.

5.4. Is the 2nd person singular marker cognate with the past clitic?

The past clitic coincides with the 2nd person singular clitic in all dialects for which we have data (Mehweb, which has no 2nd person clitic, can be viewed as the only exception). The form of the marker varies across the dialects, but in all dialects the two markers are invariably identical, cf. the following pairs (most data from MAGOMETOV 1962; 1978; Qunqi, Amux, Icari, Butri – my field data):

	Ashti, Kajtag, Amux, Icari, Sirhwa	Kubachi, Chirag, Qunqi, Tsudakhar, Butri	Uraxi, Kadar, Aqusha, Muhi	Gubden	Mehweb
2SG	*-di*	*-de*	*-ri*	*-re*	***
PST	*-di*	*-de*	*-ri*	*-re*	*-re*

Besides their material identity, the two morphemes have identical distributional properties and take the same morphological position within a

verb form. Hence, they are incompatible with each other, cf. examples of paradigms in section 3.1.1 and the following pair of nominal predicate sentences:

Icari

(22) *du* *s:uq:ur-ci-da*, *u* *kač'-ci*
I(ABS) blind-ATR-1 you.SG(ABS) deaf-ATR
'I am blind, and you are deaf.'

(23) *sub* *s:uq:ur-ci-di,* *x:unul* *kač'-ci*
husband(ABS) blind-ATR-PST wife(ABS) deaf-ATR
'The husband was blind, and the wife was deaf.'

Remarkably, the form and distribution of both units are identical in all dialects. However, their functions are so different that it is hard to suggest a common source, unless we obtain some new data that could support such a proposal.

5.5. Is Mehweb archaic or innovative?

Phonetically, Mehweb belongs to the Northern dialects (no geminated consonants, 1st person singular personal pronoun *nu*). As stated previously, Mehweb only marks the "1st person", or, to be more precise, the 1st person declarative and 2nd person interrogative.

The "1st person" markers observed in Mehweb can be related to the three basic sets discussed here: *-ra* (clitic set), *-s* (D-set), *-iša* (I-set). If the "1st person" hypothesis is true, this means that Mehweb developed all three marker sets, but only the 1DECL/2Q form in each one. This does not seem likely, especially as all three sets seem to be of different ages, and the D-set goes back to Proto-North-Caucasian times.

The marker *-iša* obviously results from a reanalysis of the modal suffix *-iš* plus the I-set 1st person marker *-a* (another possibility would be *-iš* + *-ra*). Most modern dialects still retain the suffix *-iš* (or *-iž/-iz/-ij*) in its primary function[20], so the Mehweb marker can hardly be archaic.

Important for our analysis are the prohibitive forms, which are very similar to the same forms in other dialects. Mehweb has only the 2nd person prohibitive, constructed according to the following model: prohibitive prefix *ma-/mu-/mi-* + stem + *-a-d(i)*, cf. *mi-k'-a-di* 'don't come!'. The element *-d-* is not functionally motivated here; however, its position and phonological form correlate with those of the 2nd person suffix of other Northern dialects, cf. Aqusha: *ma-waš-i-d* 'don't come!' (VAN DEN BERG

[20] In modern dialects, *-iš/-iž/-iz/-ij* expresses potential meaning or a kind of future reference. It is probably cognate with the infinitive marker. In Mehweb, we find *-iša* in the 1DECL/2Q form of the future; the opposed future form (2&3DECL/1&3Q) is marked with the suffix *-es* and is identical to the infinitive).

2001: 36). The element *-d-* in Mehweb looks exactly the same as the former 2nd person singular suffix *-d-*, which has lost its function in a system without 2nd person marking.

In sections 3.4 and 4.4, we observed that person marking in Mehweb is strikingly different from that seen in other dialects. In no dialect except Mehweb do the functions of the markers depend on utterance type (declarative vs. interrogative). Whereas other dialects show equal ranking of the 1st and 2nd person or predominance for the 2nd person, Mehweb emphasizes the 1st person declarative/2nd person interrogative. Whereas other dialects use the opposition between different person marker sets to distinguish assertive from non-assertive or realis from irrealis forms, Mehweb does not express person in dependent clauses or in the main clauses of non-declarative and non-interrogative sentences.

In all dialects except Mehweb (at least to my knowledge), *-ra* (or *-da*) is a clitic, while in Mehweb it is a verb suffix. It cannot function as a copula in nominal predicate sentences or argument-focus constructions, so its properties in Mehweb are not archaic.

These facts show that elements of person marking in Mehweb are remnants of a category that was more highly developed at an older stage. This conclusion is supported by the etymologies found in NIKOLAYEV & STAROSTIN (1994): the 2nd person marker *-d* (D-set, Northern dialects) is at least as old as the 1st person marker *-s* of the same set, and both existed in Dargwa long before the settlement of Mehweb was founded. It is hardly possible that Mehweb failed to develop the 2nd person marker – on the contrary, it merely lost it at a later stage. If this is true, the most substantial argument for the "1st person" theory loses its force.

5.6. Why is the clitic set structurally parallel to the I-set?

The origin of both clitic markers and I-markers still remains enigmatic. Unlike the origin of personal clitics, the source of the I-endings, at least to my knowledge, has not been even discussed up to this point.

These two sets form the same types of opposition and are structurally parallel:

	Clitic set		I-set	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1 person		*-da/-ra*		*-a*
2 person	*-di/-de/-ri/-re*		*-i/-e*	

Table 15: Parallelism between the clitic set and the I-set

Moreover, as I mentioned in section 3.1.2, the personal markers of the D-set are very frequently accompanied by a special number marker (*-a*) in the plural and – less frequently – by a special number marker (*-i*/*-e*) in the singular. As a result, we find a range of verb forms where *-i* (or *-e*) in the

singular corresponds to *-a* in the plural, cf. the following examples from Icari (the verb *-uc-/-urc-* 'catch'):

	2SG	2PL	
Aorist	*bucib-di*	*bucib-da*	Clitic set
Optative (perfective)	*bucab-i*	*bucab-a(-ja)*	I-set
Habitual (past)	*burca-t:-i*	*burca-t:-a*	D-set

In these forms, the elements *-i* and *-a* are synchronically analysed in different ways: in the aorist (and other forms taking personal clitics) we treat them as a part of the person clitic; in the optative (and other forms with I-set markers) as person morphemes; and in the habitual (and other forms with D-set markers) as separate number markers. However, in all these and many other forms we invariably find *-i* (*-e*) in the 2nd person singular and *-a* in the 2nd person plural.

A possible source of this opposition is analogy with the imperative forms. Like other paradigms, the imperative opposes singular and plural in the 2nd person. The morphology of this opposition is more complicated in the imperative, because in the singular the choice of imperative marker depends on the morphological class and the transitivity of the verb.[21] However, most intransitive verbs take the marker *-i* or *-e* in the imperative singular, which creates quasi-parallel rows, cf. the following forms of the verb 'sleep' in Icari and 'fly' in Butri (village of Tanti, field data):

	Icari		Butri	
	2SG	2PL	2SG	2PL
Imperative	*w-iš:-i*	*d-iš:-aja*	*urc-e*	*urc-a(-ja)*
Optative	*w-ix:-ab-i*	*d-ix:-ab-aja*	*urc-ab-e*	*urc-ab-a(-ja)*

Table 16: Optative and imperative markers in Icari and Butri

In the Icari imperative plural, we now observe the ending *-aja* (in other dialects also *-a:* or *-e*). However, it is quite obvious that the presence of *-ja* here is the result of a relatively recent process of extension. Firstly, outside the imperative, *-ja* can be found in the optative and sometimes in other paradigms and in many cases (such as the Icari optative) it is easily omitted. Secondly, in the dialect of Butri (Tanti) we find what is probably a more archaic state of this element, which shows how the 2nd person plural marker could have arisen.

As in many other Dargwa dialects, in Tanti the marker *-ja* is most frequently found in the imperative, prohibitive and optative:

(24) *d-uč-iž* *ka-d-ig-are,* *nuq-be*
1/2PL-eat:PF-INF DOWN-1/2PL-sit:PF-before hand-PL(ABS)
ic-a-ja
wash.IPF-IMP.PL-PL.ADR
'Before you (PL) sit down at the table, wash your hands!'

[21] I do not give an exact rule here, as the precise conditions involved vary across dialects.

(25) *čet:i-ma-d-irk-u-t:-a-ja!*
PV-PROH-1/2PL-win-TH-2-PROH-PL.ADR
'Do not win!' (addressed to several people)

(26) *ɬux:a* *arale* *d-at-ab-a-ja!*
you.PL(ABS) healthy 1/2PL-leave.PF-OPT-2PL-PL.ADR
'May you (PL) be healthy!'

But in Tanti *-ja* is not the verb suffix marking the 2nd person plural of the imperative, optative and (sometimes) other verb forms – it is a clitic, and its function is to show that the utterance is addressed to more than one hearer (I label it "plural of addressee"):

(27) *du* *učitel-da-ja*
I(ABS) teacher-1-PL.ADR
'I am a teacher'. (addressed to several people)

(28) *čaj* *čiž* *d-ik:-ul-da-ja?*
tea(ABS) who.DAT 1/2PL-want-PRS-2PL-PL.ADR
'Who wants tea?' (addressed to several people)

(29a) *mašina* *či-la* *le-b-a?*
car(ABS) who-GEN exist-N-Q
'Who has a car?' (addressed to one person)

(29b) *mašina* *či-la* *le-b-a-ja?*
car(ABS) who-GEN exist-N-Q-PL.ADR
'Who has a car?' (addressed to several people)

Though *-ja* is almost obligatory in all sentences where the 2nd person plural argument is present (including imperatives and prohibitives), it is not confined to them. As we observed in examples (27)–(29), *-ja* in Tanti is quite possible in other sentence types and with all persons, provided the speaker wants to stress the fact that his speech is addressed to more than one person.

The morpheme *-ja* in other Dargwa dialects seems to result from grammaticalization of the clitic *-ja*. In most dialects it now functions as an "additional" plural marker in the imperative and optative, and sometimes in other TAM paradigms employing D-markers.

The 2nd person plural morpheme *-a* could have arisen from the grammaticalization of a clitic with similar discourse functions, or even of the same clitic (which does not seem impossible phonetically, though the possibility requires detailed study).[22] In the latter case, we would have to recognize that the many modern forms containing both *-a* and *-ja* result from the operation of the same process twice.

[22] The modern imperative plural endings *-a:* and *-e* could also result from the combination *-a* + *-ja*.

So the imperative singular morpheme *-i* may be the source of, or share a common source with, the 2nd person singular ending of the I-set. The "plural of addressee" marker may be the source of the 2nd person plural ending of the I-set and special 2nd person plural markers. This would explain why only 2nd person forms take number markers. But the origin of the 1st person I-set ending remains unclear.

5.7. Conclusions

Unfortunately, I am still far from being able to make concrete suggestions on the origin of all person markers in Dargwa. However, I hope that the data presented here have at least helped to exclude some possibilities and clearly formulate some generalizations to be taken into account in further research.

First of all, person markers in Dargwa are heterogeneous, even more so than is described by TROUBETZKOY (1929). There are three sets of markers: markers of pronominal origin; I-markers, which are semantically and very probably also historically related to modal forms; and clitic markers, which are normally used in the main predicates of declarative and interrogative sentences.

The personal clitics – at least in their modern function – are probably younger than the pronominal markers. The latter are of various ages themselves: it seems that in the majority of the former Dargwa area the 2nd person arose earlier than the 1st person. In the relatively small group of dialects which are now labelled as Aqusha-type dialects, markers of both persons appeared at approximately the same time – or at least the 1st person markers appeared here earlier than in the rest of the dialects. In modern Dargwa, the Northern dialects show equal ranking for 1st and 2nd person whereas the Southern dialects usually place the 2nd person higher in the hierarchy.

The pronominal markers arose in the domain of dependent or at least non-assertive forms – these are forms used as heads of clauses which, unlike whole sentences, have no truth value of their own. The distribution of person marker sets in the modern dialects shows that the forms most commonly employing pronominal markers are subjunctives and conditionals.

The most widely used and least grammaticalized person markers, those of the clitic set, are the most mysterious. We cannot point to their source even tentatively. However, some conclusions seem very plausible. Firstly, these markers are not young: they date back at least to the period of Proto-Dargwa linguistic unity. Being separable from verb forms, they were not transformed into suffixes. Secondly, there are no substantial arguments to support the idea that the development of clitic person markers began with the 1st person.

My – very tentative – suggestion is that the development of these markers involved two processes:

(1) on one hand, at some point Dargwa developed an opposition between those clauses with speech act participants and those with third person participants only; the former were marked by a clitic which later developed into *-da*/*-ra*. It is very probable that this marker shares a common origin with the 1st and 2nd person clitic *-ra* in Lak. In Dargwa, the use of the personal clitic was confined to independent clauses in declarative/interrogative sentences.

(2) on the other hand, Dargwa developed a singular vs. plural opposition (2SG *-i/-e* vs. 2PL *-a*) in the 2nd person (see previous section). This opposition spread to many forms, including the optative (and probably other modal forms) and the forms used with the personal clitic. We may suppose that the clitic was subject to analogical alignment and thus changed to *-di/-de/-ri/-re* in the 2nd person singular. This created the modern paradigm configuration in those forms which take the clitic set of person markers, cf. Table 15. This configuration was imitated in the optative, which now shows the same opposition.

Even if these suggestions are sound, many questions remain open, and the most obvious is the following: what, then, is the source of the Dargwa (and possibly Lak) 1st and 2nd person clitic? This question has found no answer up to this point. It is likely that the source of *-da/-ra* was a clitic or auxiliary whose distribution was confined to finite, non-past, declarative/interrogative sentences and correlated with the presence of speech act participants, but a more precise answer remains to be discovered.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person	NPL	non-human plural
ABS	absolutive	OBL	oblique
AOR	aorist	OPT	optative
ATR	attributive	PST	past
COND	conditional	PF	perfective
CVB	converb	PL	plural
COP	copula	PRET	preterite
DECL	declarative	PROL	prolative
DAT	dative	PRS	present
EL	elative	PTCL	particle
ERG	ergative	Q	question
F	feminine	SG	singular
IPF	imperfective	SUBJ	subjunctive
M	masculine	SUPER	localization ‘super’
N	neuter	TH	thematic element
NEG	negative		

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ELENA KALININA (Moscow)

Exclamative clauses in the languages of the North Caucasus and the problem of finiteness

Abstract

In this article exclamative constructions in several languages of the Caucasus are presented and analysed in the light of modern studies on the exclamative sentence type. I identify various strategies of exclamative formation and demonstrate that these strategies are comparable across the different languages examined here. I also provide functional explanations for the strategies observed.

0. Introduction

Exclamative clauses express the speaker's subjective stance with respect to some fact or situation. For instance, in all the following examples, the speaker communicates the feeling that the situation evokes in him or her:

(1a) English [J.K. ROWLING, *Harry Potter and the philosopher's stone*]
The get-ups you saw on young people!

(1b) English (ibid.)
The nerve of them!

(1c) German (Colloquial)
Welch eine Tragödie! // Was für eine Tragödie!
'What a tragedy!'

(1d) French [J. BREL, *Madeleine*]
Elle est tellement jolie!
'She is so pretty!'

(1e) Italian (Colloquial)
Che amore che sei!
'How nice you are!'

(1f) Russian (Colloquial)
On eshche i vunderkind!
'Ah, and he's a wunderkind as well!'

(1g) Russian (Colloquial)
Net, vy prosmotrite, kakoj naxal!
'Just look how impertinent he is!'

As expressions of the speaker's emotional attitude, on one hand exclamatives overlap with the grammatical category of modality, and on the other hand it is hard to draw a clear-cut boundary between exclamatives and other types of expressive speech, such as interjections, insults, and other expressions of emotions like surprise, pain, joy, indignation, terror etc. Moreover, exclamatives employ a wide range of syntactic structures, such as free-standing NPs (examples (1a, b)), question words (examples (1c, e)), and degree adverbs (example (1d)) (see, for instance, (BENINCA 1996) and (ZANUTTINI & PORTNER 2000) for descriptions of the rich exclamation system of Paduan). It is also notable that in the languages of Europe exclamative sentences very often lack a finite verb, as can be observed in examples (1a-c). Elusive semantics, great variety in syntactic structures, aberrant sentence patterns – all these have contributed to the relative lack of scholarly interest shown in exclamatives, which have often been considered a marginal sentence type.

However, exclamatives are receiving growing attention at present. In some recent studies more precise definitions have been offered for the semantics of exclamatives, while studies of exclamation in languages genetically and typologically different from the languages of Europe show that the lack of a finite verb and the formally subordinate structure in exclamatives, two features that have been considered as marginal in the languages of Europe, in fact form a recurrent cross-linguistic pattern. It has become clear that exclamatives are not so marginal, and that their study allows us to make advances in important theoretical problems such as finiteness, the interaction of illocutionary force with syntax and the grammaticalization of emotion expressions.

In this paper I will present data on exclamatives in six languages of the North Caucasus – Adyghe, Agul, Archi, Avar, Bagwalal, and Bezhta. Five of these – Agul, Archi, Avar, Bagwalal and Bezhta – belong to the Daghestanian branch of the East Caucasian family, while Adyghe is a West Caucasian language (the genetic link sometimes alleged to exist between the two families is still a matter of dispute). Archi and Agul are Lezgic languages, while the remaining three languages belong to the Avar-Andic and Tsezic groups. In these languages non-finite exclamative strategies are abundantly represented, which suggests that the non-finite strategies attested in Europe are not marginal deviations but manifestations of a cross-linguistic regularity.

I will give an overview of the exclamative clause types in Adyghe, Archi and Agul (drawing also on data from Avar, Bagwalal and Bezhta) and attempt to explain the regularities observed. I will then highlight the points of relevance for cross-linguistic and theoretical investigations as

mentioned above, and suggest typological and theoretical generalizations based on the examined data. In the final section of the paper I will discuss the regularities observed and suggest plausible explanations.

The paper is structured as follows. In section 1 I present the bulk of current research on exclamatives in order to situate the Caucasian data in a broad typological and theoretical context. In section 2 I describe the exclamatives in Adyghe (2.1), Archi (2.2) and Agul (2.3). In section 3 I discuss the data in light of the cross-linguistic and theoretical studies examined in section 1. I also highlight the new perspectives for research on exclamatives which have arisen thanks to the Caucasian data.

1. Exclamative clauses in cross-linguistic and theoretical studies

1.1. Definition of exclamatives

The important work (MICHAELIS 2001) attempts to refine the conceptual basis of the category, focusing on *degree exclamations*; degree exclamations are exclamatives used by a speaker who wishes to express his or her surprise at the fact that the intensity of a certain property exceeds his or her expectations (following GRIMSHAW 1979). The author also presents an array of cross-linguistic manifestations of degree exclamations, emphasizing their recurrent formal properties and general tendencies in the grammaticalization of exclamations. Exclamatives, according to MICHAELIS, are used to convey the idea that the situation is *non-canonical*: "a non-canonical situation is one whose absence a speaker would have predicted, based on a *a priori* assumption or set of assumptions, e.g. a stereotype, a set of behavioural norms, or a model of the physical world" (MICHAELIS 2001: 1039).

The semantic and pragmatic features of exclamatives, identified in (MICHAELIS & LAMBRECHT 1996, MICHAELIS 2001), can be summed up as follows:

1) Presupposed open proposition (e.g. 'He eats X');
2) Expression of commitment to a particular scalar extent (possible values of X form a scale);
3) Assertion of an affective stance towards the scalar extent: the value of X is higher than the hearer expects it to be;
4) Identifiability of the described referent: the hearer can identify the exclamative clause referent for whom the property is predicated;
5) Person deixis: by default, the judge who refers to the scale is the speaker.

MICHAELIS further examines the formal features frequently observed in exclamative constructions; generalizing over her findings, she argues that the recurrent features of exclamative formation can be related to the

defining properties of the exclamative type, namely the presupposed content and the semantic scale as judged by the speaker. According to MICHAELIS, the recurrent properties of the exclamative sentence type are the following:

1) Co-occurrence with interjections, which emphasize the speaker's affective stance:

(2) Italian [MICHAELIS 2001: 1042]
Mamma, quante ore ho speso in vano!
'Oh dear, how much time I have spent in vain!'

2) Exclamatives often share properties with the complements of factive verbs[1], which can be explained by the fact that exclamatives contain a presupposed proposition:

(3) Italian (Colloquial)
(3a) *Com'è bello andare in montagna!*
'How nice it is to go to the mountains!'
(3b) *Quant'è bello andare in montagna!*
'How nice it is to go to the mountains!'
(3c) *Lui sa come è bello andare in montagna.*
'He knows how nice it is to go to the mountains.'
(3d) *Mi ha chiesto quant'è bello andare in montagna.*
'He asked me how nice it is to go to the mountains.'

3) Anaphoric degree adverbs, which highlight the reference to a particular scale:

(4) English
You've made my life so glamorous!

4) Question words – the use of question words is also stipulated by the scalar character of exclamatives, which is explained in (ZANUTTINI & PORTNER 2003; I will return to this work later).

(5) Italian [MICHAELIS 2001: 1046]
Dove si arrampicano, questi ragazzi!
'The places they climb, those boys!'

(6) Turkish [MICHAELIS 2001: 1047]
Neler bulduk, (neler)!
what.PL find.PST.1PL what.PL
'The things we found!' (Lit. What is it that we found!)

[1] Following (KIPARSKY & KIPARSKY 1970), it is generally agreed that factive verbs are those verbs which introduce propositional complements presupposed to be true, for example 'know', 'be glad', 'regret' etc.

5) Relative clauses and free NPs:

(7) German [MICHAELIS 2001: 1047]
Unfassbar, der Krach, den sie machen!
'The noise that these people make!'

(8) French [MICHAELIS 2001: 1047]
Le bruit qu'ils font!
'The noise they make!'

According to MICHAELIS, the use of free NPs in exclamatives can be explained by the fact that "exclamatives, like other expressive forms, need not overtly specify the speaker's affective stance toward the content encoded. This stance can be inferred from the speaker's choice of an exclamative form" (MICHAELIS 2001: 1048).

Besides MICHAELIS, many other authors have pointed out that exclamatives refer to presupposed propositions (cf. ELLIOTT 1971, 1974; GRIMSHAW 1979; SADDOCK & ZWICKY 1985; MICHAELIS & LAMBRECHT 1996a, 1996b; ZANUTTINI & PORTNER 2000, 2003; VILLABA 2003; PORTNER & ZANUTTINI 2004; COLLINS 2005; KÖNIG & SIEMUND 2006; MIRÒ 2006; POTSDAM, in press). However, works attempting to give a more precise definition of the second essential feature of exclamatives, reference to a subjective scale, which is at the core of the speaker's subjective attitude expressed by the exclamative expression, are much less numerous (below I cite ZANUTTINI & PORTNER 2003, who try to formalize precisely this aspect of exclamatives). MICHAELIS' paper is therefore an important watershed in the cross-linguistic study of exclamatives. Further examination of wider cross-linguistic data shows that the properties identified can be found in genetically and areally unrelated languages, which suggests that there is a unified semantic and cognitive basis to the exclamative sentence type.

1.2. Structure of exclamatives

In this paper many examples of exclamative expressions have already been given which point out their prominent formal features – question words, scalar adverbs and particles, and the fact that exclamatives use non-finite structures, i.e. structures lacking finite verbs, such as free-standing NPs and relative clauses. With reference to (MICHAELIS 2001) I have also explained how these formal features manifest the basic semantic features of exclamatives. In this section, I will further concentrate on non-finite patterns of the exclamative type, examining free-standing infinitives, subordinate structures and nominalized verb forms.

1.2.1. Bare infinitives

In the languages of Europe, bare infinitives occur in several types of modal expressions, for example negative imperatives in Italian (on bare infinitives in the languages of Europe cf. (NIKOLAEVA 2007)). Bare infinitives are a salient feature of the exclamative sentence type:

(9) English [QUIRK et al. 1985]
(9a) *To think that she should be so ruthless!*
(9b) *To think that I was once a millionaire!*

(10) Spanish [GROHMANN 2000: 1]
Pedro comprar vino (caro)?!
'Peter buy (expensive) wine?!'

(11) German [GROHMANN 2000: 1]
Peter (teuren) Wein kaufen?! Das glaub' ich nicht!
'Peter buy (expensive) wine?! I can't believe it!'

(12) Italian (Colloquial)
E pensare che avrebbero potuto approfittarne!
'To think that they could have made a good use of it!'

(13) Russian (Colloquial)
Isportit' takoj vecher!
'To spoil such a (beautiful) night!'

GROHMANN (2000), who studied German and Romance exclamative constructions with "bare" infinitives, argues that these constructions contain a null modal element: the cue to this claim is the behaviour of modal adverbs – in infinitival exclamatives, epistemic modal adverbs, unlike root or deontic modals, are ruled out. All of examples (14)–(16) from (GROHMANN 2000), illustrating exclamatives with bare infinitives and containing a modal adverb, are infelicitous:

(14a) *Bob besar inevitablemente a Mia (otra vez)?! No creo!*
(14b) *Bob unvermeidlich Mia (wieder) kussen?! Glaub' ich nicht!*
(14c) *Bob inevitably kiss Mia (again)?! I don't think so!*

(15a) *Pedro comprar eso necesariamente?!*
(15b) *Peter das notwendigerweise kaufen?!*
(15c) *Peter necessarily buy that?!*

(16a) *Maria probablemente ir allí?!*
(16b) *Maria wahrscheinlich dahin gehen?!*
(16c) *Mary probably go there?!*

The case of bare infinitives and GROHMANN's analysis leads us to question the nature of exclamatives: indeed, it is by no means agreed between researchers whether exclamatives represent an illocutionary

force type or a subtype of subjective modality – I will return to this problem below in section 1.3.1.

1.2.2. Subordinate structures matching those of factive verbs

Many authors have noted the fact that exclamative structures often match those of the subordinate complements of factive verbs (GRIMSHAW 1979; ZANUTTINI & PORTNER 2000, 2004; MICHAELIS 2001):

(17) English [ZANUTTINI & PORTNER 2003: 7]
(17a) *How cute he is!*
(17b) *Mary knows/*thinks/*wonders how very cute he is.*

Examples (17a and b) show that exclamatives could be analysed as "desubordinated" complements of factive verbs, as they contain complementizers, which is generally regarded as a subordinate property. At the same time, they are independent clauses. It was in part these exclamative constructions that led EVANS (2007) to put forward the term "insubordination" and explain the rise of these constructions in terms of grammaticalization of the ellipsis of the finite verb (I will present EVANS' theory in more detail in section 1.3.2 below).

1.2.3. Nominalized verb forms

It was not until recently that grammar writers began to include chapters on exclamatives in their grammars. However, grammars of Basque have traditionally paid significant attention to exclamative clauses. I believe that this is due to the fact that exclamatives in Basque have a conspicuously different structure from those found in other European languages: not only is the exclamative clause type overtly marked by a complementizer, but the verb in exclamatives takes the form typical for attributive contexts (this form is otherwise used in indirect questions and relative clauses):

(18) Basque [HUALDE & DE URBINA 2003: 522]
*Zein ederra **den** etxe hori!*
how beautiful is.ATR house that
'How beautiful the house is!'

Besides, there is another "non-finite" option in Basque: the exclamative clause predicate can take the form of a masdar, or verbal noun:

(19) Basque
*Komun-a libre **ego-te-a**!*
toilet-ABS.ART free be-NMLZ-ABS.ART
'The toilet is free!' (Lit. The freedom of the toilet!)

Languages that employ nominalized verb forms in exclamatives are rather numerous outside Europe. Nominalized verb forms occur in exclamatives in Japanese and several Oceanic languages; in Malagasy exclamatives also have noun-like properties.

In Japanese, nominalized exclamatives are of two types. In structures of the first type, the predicate takes the nominal form and there is no topic or subject marker on the subject; instead the subject is marked with the particle *no*, whose function is analogous to that of the genitive case:

(20) Japanese [TERADA 1995: 212]
aruku sugata no adeykasa
walk manner POSS grace
'How graciously she walks!' (Lit. The graciousness of her manner of walking!)

Otherwise, in the second type of Japanese exclamatives, the phrase ends with the noun *koto* meaning 'fact', which is often labelled 'nominalizer' in the of Japanese linguistic tradition:

(21) Japanese [TERADA 1995: 212]
mâ kirei da koto!
INTERJ nice AUX.FIN fact
'How nice it is!'

A detailed description of nominalized exclamatives in Oceanic languages can be found in (MOYSE-FAURIE, in prep.). In these languages, too, exclamatives very often contain verbal nouns, like in (22) from Toqabaqita – a language spoken on the Solomon Islands:

(22) Toqabaqita [LICHTENBERK, in press, via MOYSE-FAURIE, in prep.]
*Qaa! **Ngata-laa** sula doo qoro qeri!*
INTERJ talk-NMLZ about thing be.many that
'Hey! All this talking about things!' (Lit. Hey! Talking about those many things!)

(23) Xârâcùù (Mainland New Caledonia) [MOYSE-FAURIE 1995: 170]
***Kèè-téé** na rèè!*
NMLZ-look PST POSS.3SG
'How he was looking!' (Lit. His way of having looked!)

(24) West Uvean [MOYSE-FAURIE, in prep.]
*Dou **fale-puco** giate ia!*
your NMLZ-speak OBL 3SG
'How you speak to him!' (Lit. Your way of speaking to him!)

In other languages it is the whole clause that is nominalized and shows NP-like features, rather than just the verb form:

(25) Samoan [DURANTI 1981: 177, via MOYSE-FAURIE 2009]
le aka a le ali'i!
SPEC laugh POSS SPEC guy
'Look how the guy is laughing!' (Lit. The laughing of the guy!)

As argued in (POTSDAM, in press), exclamatives in Malagasy also have an NP structure. In this language, exclamatives are marked by a special demonstrative particle:

(26) Malagasy [POTSDAM, in press]
izany sotrohin' i Paoly!
DEM drink.PASS DET Paul
'What/How much Paul drinks!'

POTSDAM provides ample evidence showing that the exclamative clauses of this type have the syntactic distribution of NPs – for instance, exclamatives can occur in various argument positions (e.g. that of subject in example (27a)), but at the same time they cannot take the introductory complementizer that obligatorily accompanies clauses used as subjects (example (27b)):

(27) Malagasy [POTSDAM, in press]
(27a) *mahagaga an-dRasoa izany sotrohiny*
surprise ACC-Rasoa DEM drink.PASS.3SG
'How much he drinks surprises Rasoa.'
(27b) **mahagaga an-dRasoa fa/hoe izany sotrohiny*
surprise ACC-Rasoa that/whether DEM drink.PASS.3SG
'How much he drinks surprises Rasoa.'

1.3. Theoretical problems involved in the study of exclamatives

In section 1.2 I hope to have shown that exclamatives can be examined in the light of various theoretical problems – now I will analyse these problems in more detail.

1.3.1. Illocutionary force vs. modality

The Russian grammatical tradition has long identified exclamatives as a distinct sentence type. For instance, YANKO (2001: 22–23), following the classical Russian reference grammars, lists five illocutionary sentence types in Russian: declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamative, and address. In descriptive reference grammars of English (QUIRK et al. 1985; BIBER et al. 1999; HUDDLESTONE & PULLUM 2002) exclamative clauses also represent one of the clause types in the four-term system, along with declaratives, imperatives and interrogatives. Exclamatives are considered an instantiation of a particular sentence type and illocutionary force/value

in such works as (SADOCK & ZWICKY 1985; DIK 1997; ZANUTTINI & PORTNER 2003; KÖNIG & SIEGMUND 2006; POTSDAM, in press).

At the same time, many researchers point out that exclamatives express the speaker's subjective attitude towards a situation in the real world, e.g.: "Exclamations are grammatical forms which express the speaker's affective response to a situation" (MICHAELIS 2001: 1039); "The point of an exclamation is not really to inform the hearer(s) about some situation, but to express an affective response to what is taken to be a fact" (KOENIG & SIEMUND 2006: 316). Indeed, exclamatives transmit the speaker's subjective stance: this has led Ahmed Moutaouakil to argue that instead of constituting a clause type in terms of illocutionary force, exclamatives represent a subtype of subjective modality. According to him, exclamation lacks some of the essential properties that characterize speech acts – namely, "unlike declarative, interrogative and imperative constructions, exclamative constructions do not necessarily involve interactional relationships between the speaker and the adressee, which is one of the defining features of illocutionary force" (MOUTAOUAKIL 2005: 354).

In fact, the treatment of exclamatives as instances of illocutionary force or subjective modality may well depend on the facts of the language in question. For example, in a language such as Hua the exclamative clause marker is part of the paradigm of sentential and illocutionary forces, which looks as follows (HAIMAN 1980: 153):

- unmarked final *-e*;
- assertive *-mae*;
- exclamative *-mane*;
- inconsequential *-mana*;
- concessive expectant *-va*;
- counterfactual *-hine*;
- emphatic *-mi*;
- imperative *-o*.

1.3.2. Finiteness

The examples above and the data from (MICHAELIS 2001) demonstrate that exclamatives very often lack a finite verb. This pattern would be regarded as aberrant in most of the languages of Europe. Moreover, along with the absence of the verb, an exclamative can possess overt features of subordinate constructions – EVANS (2007) dubs this phenomenon "insubordination" and claims that insubordination results from the grammaticalization of ellipsis (omission of the matrix predicate). EVANS registers three types of "insubordinated" constructions used in exclamatives, and for each he reconstructs a particular main predicate which has been omitted:

1) Insubordinated *that*-clauses in English and *dass*-clauses in German express evaluation, "with reconstructable main clause predicates such as 'I am amazed', 'I am shocked' or 'I would not have expected'" (EVANS 2007: 403).

(28) English [QUIRK et al. 1985: 841]
(28a) *[I'm amazed and shocked] That he should have left without asking me!*
(28b) *That I should live to see such ingratitude!*

(29) German [BUSCHA 1976]
(29a) *[Ich wundere mich,] Dass du immer noch Witze machen kannst!*
'[I am amazed] that you can still make jokes (about it).'
(29b) *Dass ich dich hier treffen würde! [, habe ich nicht erwartet].*
'[I didn't expect] that I would meet you here!'

2) Similar constructions using a range of wh-questions with subordinate word order also exist in both languages. The reconstructable ellipses express astonishment or surprise, with either 1st person or indefinite third person subjects: 'I'm amazed at [how...]', 'I don't understand [how..]', 'No one understands [why..].

(30) English [EVANS 2007: 404]
(30a) *[I don't understand] How they can bet on a bloody dog like that!*
(30b) *[Can anyone tell me] Why they don't schedule the under 11s first!*

(31) German [BUSCHA 1976; WEUSTER 1983: 56]
(31a) *[Ich wundere mich,] Wie du das nur machst?*
'[I'm amazed at] how on earth you can do that?'
(31b) *[Niemand begreift,] Warum du wohl nie zu Potte kommst.*
'[No one understands] why you can never get going.'

Finally, EVANS argues that bare infinitive exclamatives (see section 1.2.1) also go back to insubordinated constructions.

We can thus see that although EVANS' explanations differ from those offered by MICHAELIS, the generalizations made over the observed structures are similar in both works: exclamatives follow a dependent clause organization pattern in that they can contain either question words or complementizers.

1.3.3. Illocutionary force expression in syntax

ZANUTTINI & PORTNER (2000, 2003) approach exclamatives with the aim of answering the following question: how is illocutionary force expressed in syntax? Previous approaches to the syntax of force had been focused on the search for a force-indicating feature or an operator in the syntactic structure. ZANUTTINI & PORTNER move away from this feature-seeking approach; instead, they try to derive the meaning of exclamatives in line with the compositionality principle.[2]

[2] The compositionality principle states that the meaning of a complex expression can be derived from the meanings of its constituents and the rules used to combine them (see for instance PARTEE 1984).

ZANUTTINI & PORTNER use the following criteria for distinguishing exclamatives:

1) Factivity – exclamatives can be embedded by factive predicates only:

(32a) *How very cute he is!*
(32b) *Mary knows/*thinks/*wonders how very cute he is.*

2) Inability to function in question/answer pairs, whether as questions or as answers.

(33a) **Who could be cuter than you?!* *– John could.*
(33b) **Isn't he the cutest thing?* *– He's so cute!*

3) Scalar implicature – the proposition denoted by exclamatives lies at the extreme end[3] of some contextually given scale (ZANUTTINI & PORTNER 2003: 7).

(34) ??*How very cute he is! though he is not extremely cute.*

(35) *He's very (quite) cute! though not extremely cute.*

The authors identify the following two syntactic properties which define the class of exclamatives:

a. Exclamatives contain a wh-operator, expressed by the question word.[4]
b. Exclamatives are factive (in accordance with the generativist framework, the authors also introduce a factive operator).

Like (MICHAELIS 2001), they associate these two properties of exclamatives with the two crucial components of meaning – however, they provide a more formal definition of the exclamative meaning as follows:

a. Exclamatives denote a set of alternative propositions, and the question word provides reference to it as its values can be chosen from this set;
b. Exclamatives are factive in the sense that their propositional content is presupposed.

In the functional perspective, according to (ZANUTTINI & PORTNER 2003: 1) exclamatives "widen the domain of quantification for the wh-operator which gives rise to the set of alternative propositions denoted by the

[3] TIMUR MAISAK (p.c.) rightly notes that the presupposed proposition does not necessarily lie at the extreme end of the scale, as in (i): *How cute Jeff is! However, he is not as cute as Mark*. In this example, it is Mark's cuteness that reaches the extremum; Jeff's cuteness may approach the end of the scale but does not reach it.

[4] The similarities between exclamative and interrogative could perhaps be explained by the fact that exclamatives make reference to a set of alternatives – in some formal frameworks questions are also analysed as referring to a set of alternatives (cf. KARTUNEN 2002).

sentence": new possibilities are added to the previously expected range. Consider the following examples:

(36) *What a delicious dinner you've made!*

(37) *How tall Muffy is!*

As properties are gradable, each property word implies reference to a scale of manifestation of the property, and this scale in (ZANUTTINI & PORTNER 2003) is denoted as the quantification domain. The quantification domain in example (36) is a set of degrees of deliciousness; the dinner exceeds the range of possibilities previously under consideration. In example (37) the quantification domain is the set of possible heights; by uttering this sentence, the speaker adds new values which had previously been regarded as being beyond the limits of the scale.

Overall, regarding the expression of illocutionary force in syntax ZANUTTINI & PORTNER (2000, 2003) argue that there is no particular element in the syntax responsible for introducing this force. Rather, there are two fundamental syntactic components which identify a clause as exclamative: a factive and a wh-operator.

2. Exclamatives in the languages of the Caucasus

The authors cited in section 1 of the paper have demonstrated that cross-linguistically exclamatives show a number of recurrent properties that match the semantic components of exclamative meaning. At the same time, the structure of exclamatives often poses problems for linguistic theory. One of these problems concerns the expression of illocutionary force in syntax (section 1.3.3). Further, it has been noted that one of the most salient properties of exclamative constructions is their non-finite guise: a number of authors have observed the use of nominalized verb forms in exclamative constructions in languages outside Europe (section 1.2.3), but even in some languages of Europe it is exclamatives that most often lack a finite verb form. The question of finiteness with regard to exclamatives was discussed in section 1.3.2.

I now turn to exclamative constructions in several languages of the Caucasus. I will pay particular attention to non-finite strategies of exclamative clause formation and, in line with the studies cited in the first section, I will attempt to explain these properties with recourse to the semantics of exclamatives. By means of these explanations I hope to arrive at typologically valid generalizations that will allow us to understand the use of nominalized verb forms in exclamatives in genetically diverse languages.

In this section I will present an overview of the exclamative strategies in Adyghe, Archi and Agul (with minor references to Avar, Bagwalal and the Tljadal dialect of Bezhta).

There is considerable parallelism between the West Caucasian and Nakh-Daghestanian languages as regards their exclamative constructions – and also between the Caucasian and the European pattern, despite some conspicuous differences. Firstly, both West Caucasian and Nakh-Daghestanian exclamatives are mainly of "non-finite" character, with no finite verb (Agul is a notable exception). Secondly, the strategies are very similar across languages, and in naming them I have attempted to bring out these similarities. These strategies are: a) the Finite strategy, which makes use of a finite verb; b) the Factive strategy (in both West Caucasian and Nakh-Daghestanian languages exclamatives can be formed by means of verb forms also used for complements of factive matrix predicates); c) the Masdar strategy (exclamatives can be headed by verbal nouns); d) free-standing NPs with relative clauses.

2.1. Adyghe[5]

2.1.1. The Finite strategy

Exclamatives in Adyghe can be formally identical to wh-questions. Wh-questions in Adyghe are of two types (ARKADYEV et al. 2009): in questions of the first type, the interrogative force is marked by the interrogative particle, which is cliticized to the predicate:

(38) *mwərat* *təde* *k'ʷa-ʁ-a?*
Murat where go-PST-Q
'Where did Murat go?'

Interrogatives of the second type are structurally similar to cleft constructions: it is the question word that hosts the question particle, while the verb is marked by the absolutive case, which shows explicitly that it belongs to the presupposed part of the sentence. The verb bears the same prefix as in relative clauses: the prefix can be followed by a marker showing which syntactic position is the target of relativization. In example (39) the indirect object position (location) has been relativized:

(39) *təd-**a*** *mwərat* ***zə-de-k'ʷa-ʁ e-r?***
where-Q [Murat REL.IO-LOC-go-PST-ABS]
WHERE did Murat go?' (Lit. Where is it that Murat went?)

[5] The data on Adyghe exclamatives were collected during two field trips to the village of Hakurinohabl' in 2003–2004. I gratefully acknowledge the help of AIDA BLIPASHAOVA, LJUBOV ZHEMADUKOVA, RITA TLEVCEZHEVA and JANNA TLISHEVA, whose creative approach to the elicitation process has been indispensable.

Example (39) has the structure of an identity clause: in the subject position there is a headless relative clause ('the place that Murat went to'), and its predicate position is occupied by the question word. Illocutionary force is marked on the predicate, i.e. on the question word. It should be noted that in complements of factive matrix verbs the dependent verb likewise takes the form of a headless relative clause and is marked for case. (This point is relevant for the discussion of Adyghe exclamative strategies in sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.4.)

The structure of Adyghe exclamatives can be identical to that of interrogatives of the first type: there is a question word, but it is the predicate that hosts the question particle:

(40) *wə-ne-xe-r* ***səd-ew*** *dax-**a**!*
2SG.POSS-eye-PL-ABS what-ADV beautiful-Q
'How beautiful your eyes are!'

Though the predicate in example (40) is an adjective, it hosts the question particle in exactly the same way as the finite verb does in example (38). For this reason I call this strategy the "Finite strategy": the exclamative predicate receives the marking normally received by predicates in finite clauses. Adyghe exclamatives can thus act in a similar way to exclamatives in the languages of Europe. Other exclamative clause formation strategies are *non-finite* in the sense that the verb takes the same form as in interrogatives of the second type, and this is also the form it bears in subordinate clauses of attributive or complement type.

2.1.2. The Factive strategy

I call the following strategy Factive because in exclamatives of this kind the verb takes exactly the same form as in factive complement clauses, cf. example (41).

(41) *č'ale-m* *me-g^{w}eŝ^{w}e* *tɬ'əž^{j}ə-r*
boy-ERG DYN-glad [old.man-ABS
qə-zer-jə-mə-wa-ʁe-m *paje*
INV-FACT-3.A-NEG-beat-PST-ERG POSTP]
'The boy is glad that the old man did not beat him.' (example provided by Dmitry Gerasimov)

In factive complement clauses the dependent verb in Adyghe has the prefix *zer-*, which comes before all person affixes. The non-finite status of the verb is marked by this prefix and by the case suffix found in final position after the tense marker. The case (oblique or absolutive) is selected by the matrix verb. Verb forms with the *zer-* prefix are selected

by factive matrix verbs, e.g., ‘to know’, ‘to be glad’, ‘to be afraid’, ‘to hear’, ‘to tell’[6] (see ARKADYEV et al. 2009).

In factive exclamatives the verb is found in the same form – i.e. with the *zer-* prefix, but always with the absolutive case marker.

(42) *aš^{j}* *a-r* *ŝ’^{w}* ***zer-jə-ɬaʁ^{w}e-re-r!***
this.ERG this-ABS well FACT-3SG-see-PTCP-ABS
‘She loves him so!’ (Lit. How she loves him!)

(43) *a-r* *se* ***qə-zer-z-de-g^{w}š^{j}əʔe-re-r!***
this-ABS 1SG INV-FACT-1SG-ASS-speak-PTCP-ABS
‘The way she talks to me!’

As well as factive verb forms, exclamatives can also contain other verb forms with a similar structure – namely, forms that also appear in indirect questions. In indirect questions the dependent verb can take a range of relative prefixes depending on the syntactic position relativized. These prefixes appear in the same position as the factive *zer-* prefix:

(44) *se* *s-ŝ’e-r-ep* *a-r* ***zə-de-k’^{w}a-ʁe-r***
1SG 1SG.A-know-PTCP-NEG this-ABS REL-LOC-go-PST-ABS
‘I don’t know where he went.’ (example provided by Dmitry Gerasimov)

These verb forms used in indirect questions can also head exclamative clauses:

(45) *sjə-š^{j}əʁən-xe-r* ***zə-d-jə-ʁet’əɬe-ʁe-r!***
1SG.POSS-clothes-PL-ABS REL-LOC-3SG-put-PST-ABS
‘The place where she put my clothes!’ (Lit. Where she put my clothes!)

However, I have discovered restrictions on the use of indirect question prefixes in exclamatives. The prefix *zəč’ə-*, corresponding to the indirect why-question, cannot occur in exclamative sentences – it is permitted in (46), which is an indirect question, but the corresponding exclamative where the verb is marked with this prefix is ungrammatical, cf. (47):

(46) *aš^{j}t-ew* ***qə-zəč’ə-s-e-pɬe-re-r***
such-ADV INV-CAUSE-1SG-DYN-look-PTCP-ABS
s-ŝ’e-r-ep
1SG-know-PTCP-NEG
‘I don’t know why she looks at me in this way.’

(47) **aš^{j}t-ew* ***qə-zəč’ə-s-e-pɬe-re-r!***
such-ADV INV-CAUSE-1SG-DYN-look-PTCP-ABS

[6] Strictly speaking, the verbs ‘to hear’ and ‘to tell’ are not factive, but they may yield a factive reading in particular contexts – for more on this see the section on Archi below.

‘The reason why she looks at me in this way!’ (Lit. Why she looks at me in this way!)

A straightforward explanation suggests itself: causes cannot be taken to form an objectively verifiable scale. I acknowledge that in the languages of Europe exclamatives can contain the ‘why’ word, but I suppose that the relevant formation in fact produces rhetorical questions rather than being a dedicated exclamative strategy.

2.1.3. The Masdar strategy

Adyghe possesses a masdar (a verbal noun) in *–n*, but it is not used in sentences of the exclamative type. There is another noun-like form used in complement clauses, namely an instrumental case form in *-č’je*:

(48) *ẑʷa-č’je* *je-ŝ’e*
plough-MNR 3SG.A-know
‘He can plough // he knows how to plough.’ (example provided by YULIA KUZNETSOVA)

The status of this form is questionable, because the instrumental case marker attaches directly to the verb stem.[7] However, this form is widely used in exclamatives:

(49) *aj-aj,* *jə-gʷšʲeʔa-č’je*
oh.dear 3SG.POSS-talk-MNR
‘Oh dear! The way she talks!’

Example (49) shows that in exclamatives the verb in the instrumental case form has possessive person/number indices instead of prefixes from the finite set. For this reason I name this strategy the Masdar strategy although, strictly speaking, the verb form in question is not the usual masdar or verbal noun.

In exclamatives this form demonstrates a deviant agreement pattern: it can agree with the external argument of transitive verbs, and the internal argument cannot be expressed at all.

(50) *ašʲ* *(*a-r)* *jə-ŝ’ʷ-ɬaʁʷe-č’je!*
this.ERG this-ABS 3SG.POSS-well-see-MNR
‘She loves him so!’

If the internal argument is inanimate and is not individuated, it can be incorporated into the verb form:

(51) *a-xe-m* *ja-wəred-qeʔʷa-č’je!*
this-PL-ERG 3SG.PL.POSS-song-sing-MNR
‘The way they sing songs!’

[7] In fact, it is possible to draw a parallel between Adyghe verbal instrumentals and converbs in the languages of Daghestan, where case markers can also attach directly to the verb stem (see below).

Both incorporation and the agreement pattern suggest that the *-čʲe* form in exclamatives does not have a verbal argument structure and thus shares properties with nominal possessive constructions. The exclamative construction of this type can thus be regarded as an instance of the masdar strategy. But this is not the only fully nominal type in Adyghe – free-standing NPs can also function as exclamatives in Adyghe:

(52) *aj, jə-qebar-xe-r!*
oh 3SG.POSS-story-PL-ABS
'What wonderful stories (she tells)!' (Lit. Her stories!)

2.1.4. The Relative clause strategy

Exclamatives built according to this strategy have the structure of free-standing noun phrases with a verbal dependent element – i.e. free-standing relative clauses (cf. the English *The things he eats!* in ZANUTTINI & PORTNER 2003).

Typically, in Adyghe relative clauses, the head noun takes the form of an adjunct by means of the adverbial affix *-ew*, and the case marker of the whole noun phrase is attached to the verb. In relative clauses the verb takes a special attributive form: the agreement position corresponding to the relativization target is filled by the relative prefix *ze-*. All these features are shown in example (53): in this example, the *ze-* prefix is placed into the subject agreement position, because the head noun – the target of relativization – would occupy the subject position in the sentence being relativized:

(53) *č'al-ew* ***zə-qe-zə-ʔatə-šʲtə-r*** *kʲʷe-šʲt.*
boy-ADV REFL-INV-REL-lift-FUT-ABS go-FUT
'The boy who comes up here (lit. lifts himself up here) will go away.' (example provided by Yury Lander)

While the masdar strategy is perceived by native speakers to be more appropriate with non-transitive verbs, the relative clause strategy in exclamatives is suitable for transitive verbs. The head noun in such exclamatives is typically the direct object of the relativized verb:

(54) *wə šel'am-ew b-ʁežʲe-xe-re-r!*
2SG doughnut-ADV 2SG-fry-PL-PTCP-ABS
'You cook delicious doughnuts!' (Lit. The doughnuts you cook!)

(55) *wə mwərat-ew wə-ze-wa-ʁe-r!*
2SG Marat-ADV 2SG.S-REL-beat-PST-ABS
'You beat Marat?' (Lit. Marat whom you have beaten!) {Do you know who his father is?}

2.2. Archi[8]

Below I will mainly discuss Archi (see also CHUMAKINA, this volume) and Agul data, drawing some parallels with other languages of Daghestan.

Unlike Adyghe, Archi does not employ question words in exclamative sentences. Except in finite exclamative strategies, Archi is very similar to Adyghe in the choice of verb forms that appear in exclamative clauses.

2.2.1. The finite strategy

In Archi, there is a finite strategy, but finite exclamatives do not contain question words. Instead, there is a special emphatic word *aχˤši* (a converb form of the stative verb *-aχˤ-* meaning 'to be enough').

(56) ***w-aχˤ-ši*** *godo-w* *eˤmwar-ši* *i:di* *zon*
I-be.enough-CVB.IPF this-I cry.IPF-CVB.IPF I.COP.PST 1SG
orqˤa-mxur!
II.leave-when
'He cried so much when I was leaving!'

2.2.2. The factive strategy

The factive strategy in Archi is the counterpart of the Adyghe non-finite strategy. In Archi exclamatives copy the strategy employed for complements of factive verbs. Presupposed complements of factive verbs are encoded by participles (glossed ATR) as heads of subordinate clauses:[9]

(57) *was* *sini-ši* *edi-t'-ani* *lo*
2SG.DAT know-CVB.IPF IV.be.PST-NEG-Q child.II
χapːu-tːu-rˀ
kidnap.PF-ATR-II
'Didn't you know that (somebody) had kidnapped the girl?'

[8] I gratefully acknowledge the great help of my Archi language consultants, ZUMZUM MAGOMEDOVA, CHAMASDAK IBRAGIMOVA and KAVSARAT MURTUZALIEVA, who gave me insightful examples of exclamatives from emotionally loaded "female speech".

[9] KOPTJEVSKAJA-TAMM (1993) gives a definition of participles in line with what is generally agreed about their core use: "Participles are defined as adjectival verb forms, i.e. verb forms which primarily function as an attribute to a noun in noun phrases. Thus, they are opposed to ANs [action nominals – *E. K.*] which primarily function as the head in noun phrases." However, this view neither explains nor predicts the multiple uses of participles in Daghestanian languages beyond noun modification, noted by (AUTHIER 2008) among others. We have registered the use of participles as complements of factive verbs in a great many languages of Daghestan (Avar, Bagwalal, Bezhta, Agul, Lezgian). I suggest the following explanation: participles are not exclusively attributive forms, but forms marking presupposed information, and it is therefore natural that they should be used to mark the presupposed complements of factive verbs. As such they can help to identify the NP referent, but their use in attributive constructions is secondary to their presupposition-marking capacity.

Archi participles also occur as complements of the perception verbs ‘to see’ and ‘to hear’. In this position they are contrasted with converbs (forms also used in adverbial subordination): when the complement of an Archi perception verb is headed by a converb, the complement clause belongs to the asserted part of the sentence, and the verb has its primary meaning – that of perception:

(58) *ez* *ak:u* *to-r-mi* *lo*
IV.1SG.DAT IV.see.PST this-II-ERG child.IV
orχ:ir-ši
IV.pick.up.IPF-CVB.IPF
‘I saw her pick up the child (and then they went home).’

When the complement is headed by a participle, the complement clause is presupposed, and there is a shift in the verb meaning: the verb is interpreted as a propositional attitude predicate (on the drift of verbs of perception towards propositional attitude predicates see, for instance, ARUTYUNOVA 1984):

(59) *ez* *ak:u* *to-r-mi* *lo*
IV.1SG.DAT IV.see.PST this-II-ERG child.IV
orχ:ir-t:u-t
IV.pick.up.IPF-ATR-IV
‘I saw her pick up the child (answering a policeman’s question, for instance).’

Example (58) is uttered in a context where the speaker is reporting events he or she has seen, so in this case the proposition in the dependent clause belongs to the part of the statement being asserted. By contrast, example (59) cannot be used for reporting events perceived by vision. It is uttered in a context where the speaker makes recourse to his/her visual perception to confirm that the situation denoted by the dependent clause took place in reality. In this case, the subordinate proposition is presupposed (and is explicitly marked as such).

So participles in Archi can be said to refer to presupposed descriptions of situations: therefore, their use in complement clauses is not syntactically but semantically stipulated.

In exclamatives, participles (and masdars, as I will show below) are always accompanied by some additional discourse marker. There are two discourse markers that typically appear in exclamatives: firstly, the verbs ‘to look’ and ‘to see’ are often used in some fixed form (the verb ‘to look’ usually takes the imperative form, while the verb ‘to see’ is in the aorist form accompanied by the interrogative particle); secondly, the emphatic particle *os* ‘once’ also appears frequently in exclamatives:

(60) *wajo, os sa‹r›k:e, godo-w lo χab-kul*
oh once II.look.IMP this-I child fast-NMLZ[10]
uw-na he^{ʕ}ršur-t:u!
I.do.PF-CVB.IRR run.IPF-ATR.I
'Oh, just look, the boy is running so fast!'

Note that the participle in this construction is not case-marked and thus cannot be said to head a subordinate clause of the matrix predicate 'to look', because the verb 'to look' is not a transitive verb – it subcategorizes for an indirect object (goal) as a second argument, and this argument is marked by the superlative case:

(61) *zon wa-t:i-k so‹w›k:u*
1SG 2SG-SUP-LAT I.look.PST
'I looked at you.'

In principle, participles as heads of complement clauses can take case markers if a certain case is selected by the matrix verb:

(62) *q^{ʕw}a-t:u-mmu-s arχu-li ja-r lo*
I.come.PF-ATR-OBL.I-DAT lie.PF-CVB.PF this-II child.II
doxo-li garawat-li-t ja-t
II.find.PF-CVB.PF bed-OBL-SUP this-IV
'The man who came found the girl lying on the bed.' (KIBRIK 1977: 310–311)

Comparison with example (61) suggests that in (60) the participle is not subordinate to the matrix verb 'to look', which is semantically bleached and functions rather as a discourse marker. Moreover, in this construction the verb 'to look' can only be used in the imperative form, which is an additional argument in favour of the proposed interpretation.

Similarly, the verb 'to see' can function as an illocutionary marker in exclamative clauses with participles, but it takes a different aorist form followed by a question particle:

(63) *wajo, os q'aʁar-t:u-r d-ak:u-ra godo-r hekɬ'ina!*
oh one cry.IPF-ATR-II II-see.PST-Q this-II thing
'Oh, she is crying so!' (Lit. Have you seen the way she is crying?)

Apart from the verbs 'to look' and 'to see', another marker appears in exclamative clauses – the question word *han* 'what' with the question particle *-(r)i*:

[10] Masdar forms in Archi (as in some other languages of Daghestan such as Avar, which is the written language taught in Archi schools) can be derived from any predicate word, including words denoting properties – adjectives, adverbs, and even nouns with predicate semantics (such as 'teacher').

(64) *žun-nu-r* *lo* *da:ɬideker-t:u-r* ***han-i!***
self.OBL-ATR-II child.II II.beat.IPF-ATR-II what-Q
'He beats his daughter so (violently)!'

The particle *-(r)i* is a semantically marked question particle in Archi. The use of this particle in questions implies that the speaker has in mind a set of possible answers which the hearer is expected to choose from (semantically it is similar to the question word *which* in English). The question word *han* used with this particle has been grammaticalized as a rhetorical question marker. First, its use in questions proper is restricted; second, it can follow any verb form and is often cliticized to the verb form or even merged with it:

(65) *qimis* ***w-arχar-t'-ani*** (< *w-arχar-t'u* *han-i*)*?*
at.midday I-sleep.PRS-NEG-Q I-sleep.PRS-NEG what-Q
'I wonder, doesn't he have a nap at lunchtime?'

2.2.3. The Masdar strategy

The masdar strategy in exclamatives has been registered in many languages of Daghestan, for instance, in Bagwalal:

(66) Bagwalal [KALININA 2001: 427]
di-ha *ongiri* *ek'ʷa-b* ***č'alʕa-ri***
1SG-OBL.DAT here be-PTCP.N be.fed.up-NMLZ
'How fed up I am with all that here!'

In some languages this strategy is transitivity-sensitive: masdar exclamatives are preferable with intransitive predicates:

(67) Avar
dur ***ɦaliqa-ɬi*** *šši-b!*
2SG.GEN mean-NMLZ what-N
'How mean you are!' (example provided by Yakov Testelets)

(68) Bezhta (Tljadal dialect; own field notes)
waj, *hogɬos* ***ɬiq'oro-ɬi!***
oh this.GEN II.dress.PRS-NMLZ
'The way she dresses!'

This strategy is present in Archi as well, and in Archi it is likewise more suitable for intransitive predicates. In exclamatives masdars are accompanied by the same discourse markers as participles – the verb 'to see' (example (69)) and the restrictive question word *hani* (example (70)):

(69) *wa* *buwa,* *os* ***χ:ank'-t'i*** *ak:u-ra!*
oh mother once snore-NMLZ IV.see.PST-Q
'Oh dear, he snores so!'

(70) *wajo, lača-li-n **labχun-kul** han-i!*
oh garlic-OBL-GEN much-NMLZ what-Q
'Oh, there's too much garlic!'

The Archi masdar (formed in various ways), along with the participle, can also head presupposed complements of factive matrix verbs (in fact, this is true for the majority of the languages of Daghestan, including Avar and Bezhta):

(71) *čeħ-mi-s sin-t'u ħaži:-n-u*
no.one-OBL-DAT know.PST-NEG Hazhi-GEN-AND
*ašat-li-n-u oq **i-kul***
Ayshat-OBL-GEN-and wedding IV.be.PRS-NMLZ
'Nobody knows that Hazhi and Ayshat are going to get married.' (Lit. Nobody knows that the wedding of Hazhi and Ayshat is going to take place.)

However, it would not be correct to regard the masdar as the complement of the verb 'to see' in example (69). First, one can observe that the verb 'to see' is semantically bleached: snoring cannot be seen, only heard. Second, perception verbs in Archi do not select masdar complements:

(72) **d-ez madinat bedeq'u-lli-t:i-k **derχˤar-kul***
II-1SG.DAT Madina Bedequ-OBL-ALL-SUPER II.go.IPF-NMLZ
d-ak:u
II-see.PST
'I saw Madina climb the Bedequ mountain.'

As stated above, perception verbs select as complements either converbs or participles depending on what is being asserted – the perceived event or the fact of perception.

Thus, these arguments confirm that the verb 'to see' in exclamatives is grammaticalized as an illocutionary marker, as suggested above.

2.2.4. The Relative clause strategy

While intransitive verbs tend to form exclamatives of the masdar type, there is a special exclamative strategy for transitive verbs – the relative clause strategy. In this strategy a noun phrase modified by a relative clause is accompanied by the same exclamative illocutionary markers as were discussed above – in Archi, the verb 'to see' (example (73)) and the question word *hani* (example (74)):

(73) *wajo, os a-b-ču-t:u-b gat' b-ak:u-ra!*
oh once III-put.on.PF-ATR-III headscarf.III III-see.PST-Q
'Oh, the way you have arranged your headscarf!'

(74) *muː-ši* *b-erɬːir-tːu-b* *č'ele* *han-i!*
be.nice-CVB III-lay-ATR-III stone.III what-Q
'You are laying stones so evenly!' (Lit. What is it, the stone you lay!)

In Avar, exclamative sentences built according to the relative clause strategy are very often headed by the noun *kuc* meaning 'way', 'manner':

(75) Avar
žaq'a *baʃar-un* *b-ug-e-b* ***kuc!***
today be.hot-CVB.PF N-be-PTCP-N manner.N
'How hot it is today!' (example provided by Yakov Testelets)

Kuc is not the only word used as head of the relative clause in order to provide reference to a speaker's subjective scale – consider the following example:

(76) Avar [KHALILOV & AKHLAKOV (eds.) 1976: 33]
hay *ʕadala-b* *bet'er,* *duca* *boxduze* *hiq'-ara-b*
hey silly-N head.N 2SG.ERG foot.PL.DAT ask-PST.PTCP-N
q'o!
day.N
'What a misfortune (lit. day) it was, oh my head, when you asked my feet (for advice)!'

As can be seen from example (76), the head of the relative clause is the word *q'o* 'day'; its lexical meaning is obviously indirect here, because the speaker is by no means referring to a particular day when he had to walk extra miles because of his silliness. According to Gilles Authier, the word 'day' can mean 'bad luck, misfortune' in the languages of the region, and in this example it is there to provide reference to the extreme end of the subjective scale.

In Archi, there are also exclamatives containing the Avar loan *kuc*, where one can also observe the familiar exclamative markers – forms of the verb 'to see' (examples (77)–(78)) and the restrictive question word *hani* (example (79)). In Archi, this strategy is not sensitive to verb transitivity – exclamatives in *kuc* can be formed with both transitive and intransitive verbs:

(77) *godo-r-mi* *kʼun* *gerger-tːu-b* ***kuc***
this-II-ERG dough roll.out-ATR-III manner.III
b-akːu-tʼaw!
III-see.PST-NEG.CVB.PF
'The way she rolls out the dough!'

(78) *qʼaʁar-tːu-b* ***kuc*** *b-akːu-ra!*
cry.IPF-ATR-III manner.III III-see.PST-Q
'The way she is wailing!'

(79) *gat'* *a-b-ču-t:u-b* ***kuc*** *han-i!*
headscarf.III III-put.on.PF-ATR-III manner.III what-Q
'Oh, the way you have arranged your headscarf!'

2.3. Agul[11]

Exclamative constructions in Agul deviate saliently from the patterns attested in the other Daghestanian languages analysed so far, in that their use of non-finite verb forms is clearly restricted. Below I will present all the exclamative constructions attested in Agul and highlight the parallels with other Daghestanian languages as well as wider cross-linguistic similarities, and I will try to provide explanations for the observed differences.

2.3.1. The finite strategy

Finite exclamatives in Agul are identical to questions – both interrogatives (example (80a, b)) and exclamatives (examples (81)–(82)) are marked by the presence of the question word, and neither interrogatives nor exclamatives contain any question markers apart from the question word:

(80a) *fiš* *qaj-ne?*
who return.PF-PFCT
'Who came?'

(80b) *fi* *lixa-a* *ge-wuri?*
what build.IPF-PRS that-PL.ERG
'What are they building?'

(81) *fišt:i* *kun-ar* ***lik'i-na-a,*** *žan,* *gi!*
how clothes-PL put.on.PF-RES-PRS my.dear that.ERG
'The way she is dressed!' (uttered when both the speaker and the hearer can observe the person the speaker is talking about)

(82) *wun* *fišt:i* ***lik'i-na-a*** *k'eb!*
2SG how put.on.PF-RES-PRS headscarf
'The way you have arranged your headscarf!'

Agul finite exclamatives most often contain particles: *-daħan* 'so much' is added to the question word (example (83)) while *χi* is cliticized to the verb (examples (84)–(85)):

[11] This section has been written in close collaboration with SOLMAZ MERDANOVA, who provided most of the examples cited below, and TIMUR MAISAK, who was of great help in the data collection process.

(83) *wun* *fi-**daħan*** *iže* *širin* *χink'-ar* *q'u-ne!*
2SG what-PTCL good delicious dumpling-PL make.PF-PFCT
'What delicious dumplings you have made!'

(84) *wuw,* *fi-**daħan*** *bat'ar* *gada,* *gürček* *gada!*
INTERJ what-PTCL handsome boy beautiful boy
'What a handsome guy, what a good-looking guy!'

(85a) *ge* *fišt:i* *luqa-j-e-**χi***
that how dance.IPF-CVB-COP-PTCL
'Oh, how she dances!' (implies that she dances beautifully)

(85b) ***sa*** *jarħa-j-e-**χi*** *gi* *xir-as!*
one beat.IPF-CVB-COP-PTCL that.ERG wife-DAT
'Oh, how he beats his wife!' (i.e. violently)

It is interesting to note the use of the word 'one' as the marker of scale reference in the languages of Daghestan – cf. example (85b) from Agul and the Archi example (63). This word is quite frequent in Daghestanian exclamatives.

2.3.2. The factive strategy

In Agul, several verb forms are used as complements of factive verbs. First, as in many Daghestanian languages, the participle often functions as the predicate of complement clauses with factive matrix verbs:

(86) *za-s* *ħa-a* *ge* ***qaji-f.***
1SG-DAT know-PRS [that return.PF-NMLZ]
'I know that s/he came.'

(87) *zun* *šad* *e* *wun* *ge* ***aq'u-f.***
1SG glad COP [2SG that do.PF-NMLZ]
'I am glad that you did it.'

There is another factive strategy typical of indirect questions (on factivity in indirect questions see, for instance, GRIMSHAW 1979): in Agul indirect questions the predicate takes the conditional form, i.e. the form typically used in the apodosis of conditional constructions. Example (88) illustrates a conditional construction; in example (89) the head of the complement clause clearly takes the conditional form:

(88) *naq'* ***ʁu-naj-či,*** *iže*
yesterday rain.PF-RES.PRS-COND good
xa-s-ij.
become.IPF-INF-COP.PST
'It would have been good if it had rained yesterday.'

(89) *ge* *fi-daħan* *iže* *ilsan* ***e-j-či*** *ag^{w}a-wa* *wa-s?*
[that what-PTCL good man COP-CVB-COND] see.IPF.PRS-Q2SG-DAT
'Do you see what a good man he is?'

Unlike the participle and the conditional form, the Agul masdar is not factive at all – instead it has some modal meaning, because it is selected by modal matrix predicates:

(90) *šünük:-ari* *aɬa-t:-ar-il* *ubur* ***lixi-b***
[child-PL.ERG big-NMLZ-PL-SUPER ear SUPER.put.PF-MSD]
lazim *e.*
necessary COP
'Children should respect (lit. put an ear on to) elders.'

Interestingly enough, of all the available verb forms found in complement clauses it is the conditional that surfaces in Agul exclamatives:

(91) *gi* *fi* *žüre* ***lik'i-naj-či!***
that.ERG what sort put.on.PF-RES.PRS-COND
'The things she is wearing!'

(92) *gi* *fišt:i* *furs-ar* ***aq'u-naj-či!***
that.ERG how arrogance-PL do.PF-RES.PRS-COND
(χut:urf / ag-u)
look.IMP see-IMP
'How arrogant he is! // Look how arrogant he is!' (Lit. If he were so arrogant!)

According to SOLMAZ MERDANOVA, exclamatives containing the conditional form are perceived as elliptical, involving the omission of the matrix predicate 'to look' or 'to see'. Unlike in Archi, this is quite plausible in view of example (89), where the conditional form heads the complement of the verb 'to see'.

Neither participles nor masdars have been attested in exclamative clauses in Agul, unlike in most other languages of Daghestan. The explanation for the absence of the masdar is clear: the Agul masdar is obviously not factive but modal in value (for a similar situation in Budugh, see AUTHIER, this volume). With regard to the participle I provide an explanation in section 3.2 below.

2.3.3. The relative clause strategy

As in Archi and Avar, exclamatives in Agul can be built on the basis on relative clauses modifying manner words such as *furma* 'form' and *žüre* 'sort'. Nevertheless, unlike in Archi and Avar, exclamatives in Agul never take the form of free-standing relative clauses – they are accompanied by the idiomatic expression *aguna k:andij* 'you should see', 'you ought to see':

(93) *gi* *xir-as* *jarɦa* *furma* *agu-na*
that.ERG wife-DAT beat.IPF form see.PF-CVB

k:and-ij *wa-s!*
must-COP.PST 2SG-DAT
'How violently he beats his wife!' (Lit. You should see the way he beats his wife!)

Agul possesses another exclamative construction involving a relative clause headed by a manner word, which resembles a focus question. Focus questions differ from usual questions in their form: in unmarked interrogatives it is only the question word that marks sentence force, cf. (80) above. By contrast, focus questions are similar to cleft constructions: in Agul cleft constructions the verb takes the participial form while the focused constituent is marked by the copula as the predicate. In example (94a) the verb belongs to the asserted part; (94b) is a focused cleft construction illustrating the structure in question:

(94a) *gada-jari* *žinawur-ar* *facu-ne.*
boy-PL.ERG wolf-PL catch.PF-PFCT
'The boys caught wolves.'
(94b) *gada-jari* *e* *žinawur-ar* *facu-f.*
boy-PL.ERG COP wolf-PL catch.PF-NMLZ
'It was THE BOYS who caught wolves.' {focus cleft}

In the same way, in focus questions the verb takes the participial form while the question word is marked as being in focus by the copula. From the semantic point of view, focus questions require the hearer to choose an answer from a set of options that is often actualized in context. Unmarked questions, on the other hand, do not imply the existence of an actualized set of options.

(95a) *fiš* *qaj-ne?*
who return.PF-PFCT
'Who came?' (= (80a))
(95b) *fiš* *e* *qaji-f*
who COP return.PF-NMLZ
'Who (exactly) came?'

(96a) *fi* *lix-a-a* *ge-wuri?*
what build-IPF-PRS that-PL.ERG
'What are they building?' (= (80b))
(96b) *fi* *e* *ge-wuri* *lixa-je-f?*
what COP that-PL.ERG build.IPF-PTCP2-NMLZ
'What (exactly) are they building?'

When uttered in a particular context and with a particular intonation, focus questions can be interpreted as exclamatives. For instance, example (97) may be a question meaning that the speaker wants to know which man from a known set is going to marry Madinat; but when pronounced

with the appropriate emphasis, it can also be taken as an exclamative sentence communicating the speaker's attitude to the fact that a particular man has been chosen as the future husband:

(97) *wun* *na-s* *e* *madinat* *i-f?!*
2SG who-DAT COP Madinat give.PF-NMLZ
'The person to whom you are giving Madinat in marriage!' (Lit. To whom are you giving Madinat in marriage!) {The speaker implies that it is not a good choice.}

Constructions with manner words such as 'form' and 'sort' can also take the form of cleft-like focus questions: the manner word forms a noun phrase with the question word that is marked as being in focus by the copula:

(98) *fi* *žüre* *e,* *žan,* *wun* *k'eb*
what sort COP my.dear 2SG headscarf
lik'i-naje-f!
put.on.PF-PTCP2-NMLZ
'My dear, the way you have arranged your headscarf!' (Lit. What is the way you have arranged your headscarf!) {i.e. badly}

2.3.4. Summary

The means found in Agul for marking subjective stance are very similar to those observed cross-linguistically, namely question words and bare NPs (examples (83)–(85)).

At the same time, we have seen that Agul shares certain exclamative strategies with other languages of Daghestan – these are the use of the verbs 'to see' and 'to look' in various constructions and the use of verb forms which are otherwise found as the complements of factive verbs. However, Agul differs from other Daghestanian languages in that it uses question words more widely in exclamatives (hence exclamatives in Agul are closer to interrogatives than in other Daghestanian languages), whereas non-finite forms, such as participles and masdars, are apparently not attested in finite exclamative clauses. Instead, Agul possesses another strategy also found with complements of factive verbs – one involving the conditional, which is used in indirect questions. As in fact conditionals are widely recognized to be presupposed (see, for instance, HAIMAN 1978), this strategy is in line with the presupposed content of exclamatives.

3. Discussion

I have analysed exclamative strategies and exclamative constructions in several languages of Daghestan and in one West Caucasian language. Exclamatives are obviously not a frequent sentence type compared to, say, declaratives and interrogatives. This may lead one to think that exclamatives are a *marginal* sentence type. However, low frequency does not necessarily imply marginality: a clear sign of marginality is gradient grammaticality, where speakers' grammaticality judgments vary and do not allow us to establish a core pattern. With exclamatives this is not the case: I may have had to select particular contexts to elicit exclamatives, and these contexts may not occur very frequently, but speakers are to a large extent unanimous in their judgements on appropriate utterances in the suggested contexts. Thus exclamatives, although infrequent, form a distinct sentence type in their own right, and this view is also supported by the fact that numerous regularities exist in exclamative clause formation both within the languages of Daghestan and cross-linguistically. Hence, the non-finite features of exclamatives should not be attributed to the marginality of this clause type.

3.1. Similarities between the languages

As has been repeated throughout this article, exclamative clauses contain a presupposed open proposition. In the languages of the Caucasus this presupposed proposition is explicitly marked as such by the use of a verb form also found in the complement of factive verbs. This is the relativized verb form in Adyghe, the masdar in Bagwalal, the masdar and the participle in Archi and the conditional form in Agul. Apart from the similarities in presupposition marking, the languages examined display similar markers of the speaker's scale-based subjective stance: along with the question words very often used in European exclamatives, we also find forms of the verbs 'to see' and 'to look' and constructions employing these verbs. The use of a word for 'one' as a marker of reference to the subjective scale should also be noted. Furthermore, all the languages under study have a relative clause strategy in which the relative clause itself encodes the presupposed content while the head noun also serves as the marker of reference to the speaker's subjective scale (in most cases this is a word meaning 'way', 'manner', 'form').

3.2. The use of non-finite verb forms in exclamatives: the Caucasian case and implications for cross-linguistic studies

In the languages of the Caucasus exclamatives follow the patterns shown by factive complement clauses: in Adyghe, the verb in an

exclamative can have the same relativization prefixes as the predicate of a factive complement clause; in Archi, the masdars and participles seen in exclamatives[12] are also forms heading factive subordinate clauses. This can be explained through reference to the findings of (MICHAELIS 2001) and (ZANUTTINI & PORTNER 2003): exclamatives contain an open proposition that is presupposed. In (KALININA & SUMBATOVA 2007) we described in detail the system of grammatical marking of information structure in two other Daghestanian languages (Bagwalal and Icari Dargwa) and it was shown that in these languages the information structure of the sentence is encoded in the grammar: the various constituents are overtly marked as belonging to the presupposed or asserted parts of the sentence.[13] Forms such as masdars and participles typically encode presuppositions in these languages.

Thus the use of verb forms in Caucasian languages always helps to make information structure transparent, and in a sense exclamatives are more straightforwardly related to presupposition and factivity than in the languages of Europe, where there usually exist two complementizers to introduce factive clauses (e.g. 'that' vs. 'how') and it is unclear why it is precisely the latter that is used in exclamatives and not the former. Nevertheless, Caucasian exclamatives can also contain finite verb forms, as in examples (40) from Adyghe and (56) from Archi, which means that the exclamative does not necessarily contain a presupposed proposition, as the use of finite verb forms typically signals assertion in these languages. ZANUTTINI & PORTNER (2003: 7) note this possibility for exclamatives: "In certain pragmatic circumstances, an exclamative may serve to provide new information. For instance, when I return from seeing my friend's baby for the first time, I may say *What a cute baby he is!*" The nature of these "certain pragmatic circumstances" would be a worthwhile subject for further research on exclamatives.

However, the Agul data are conspicuously different from that seen in the other languages examined here: in Agul, neither participles nor masdars appear in exclamatives. I have already mentioned that the Agul masdar is most probably a modalized nominal form and does not mark presupposition. At this point, it would be most natural to make the same claim about the Agul participle. However, by applying to Agul participles a number of tests for factivity I will show that in Agul the participle is a factive form, i.e. a

[12] In complement clauses, masdars and participles are not synonymous (KALININA 2008): participles encode complements that are not simply factive – they encode facts belonging to the common background, things everybody is supposed to know. Masdars do not trigger any presuppositions of this kind: they are merely straightforward factive complements. At present I cannot answer the question whether this difference in meaning comes into play in exclamatives.

[13] See also (ARKADYEV et al. 2009) on the grammatical marking of information structure in Adyghe.

form that can be said to refer to presuppositions. After that I will offer another explanation for its failure to appear in exclamatives.

In (KALININA & SUMBATOVA 2007) and in (KALININA 2008) we offer a set of tests intended to demonstrate the factive semantics of a verb form. These involve: 1) relative clauses; 2) complement clauses; 3) narrow focus questions. Tests 2 and 3 unambiguously show that the Agul participle has factive semantics. Firstly, it is widely used as the complement of factive verbs: see examples (86)–(89) in section 2.3.2. Secondly, in Agul the verb takes the participial form whenever it does not constitute the asserted part of the sentence – i.e. in narrow focus (example (99b)) and in sentence focus (example (100)) phrases.

(99) Agul

(99a) *č:uč:u* *me* *k'eǯ* *lik'i-ne.*
brother.ERG this letter write.PF-PFCT
'Brother wrote the letter.'

(99b) *č:uč:u* ***e*** *me* *k'eǯ* ***lik'i-f.***
brother.ERG **COP** this letter write.PF-NMLZ
'It was BROTHER who wrote the letter.'

(100) Agul
– *fi* *e* *q'u-f,* *fi* *haraj* *e?*
what COP do.PF-NMLZ what shout COP
'What has happened, what's that noise about?'
– *fi-ra,* *q:unši-jar* ***aluħa-je-f.***
what-PTCL neighbour-PL quarrel.IPF-PTCP2-NMLZ
'Nothing (serious), the neighbours are quarrelling.'

Examples of narrow focus like (99b) have been analysed above; example (100) is uttered as an answer to the question "What is happening?" or "What is going on?" This context is typical for sentence-focus constructions (cf. LAMBRECHT 1994).

Finally, the use of participles in attributive contexts in Agul deserves a detailed explanation. The attributive clause test consists in modifying proper names with attributive clauses. When a participle is factive, the attributive clause with the proper name as a head noun always receives a restrictive reading:

(101) Archi (field notes)
c'uru-ši *χa‹r›t:i-t:u-r* *pat'imat*
Tsurib-ALL II.go.PF-ATR-II Patimat
'the Patimat who went to Tsurib'

By contrast, in Agul attributive clauses with proper names allow both a restrictive and a non-restrictive reading:

(102) Agul [MAISAK 2008]
mašin iže hika-s ħa-je ħamid qaj-ne.
[car good drive.IPF-INF know-PTCP2] Hamid return.PF-PFCT
'Hamid came, who drives a car very well.'
a. 'there is one Hamid in our village, and he can drive a car well; he came'
b. 'there are two Hamids in our village, one of them can drive a car well, and the other cannot drive at all; the one that can drive came'

This example seems to contradict the conclusions about the factive semantics of Agul participles that were drawn on the basis of examples (86)–(89) and (99)–(101). The contradiction is resolved if one pays attention to the fact that the participle form modifying the head noun does not bear the substantivizing marker *-f*, cf. its use with adjectives in example (103).

(103) Agul (from a text corpus)
*te bic'i kapur fašaw... **bic'i-f** ke-a,*
that little dagger bring.IMP little-NMLZ CONT.be-PRS
***aħa-f** waʔ.*
big-NMLZ not
'Bring that little dagger… there is a little one (hanging on a wall), not the big one…'

The substantivized participle is not only restrictive – it triggers the presupposition of existence (in uttering (103), the speaker implies that there exist two daggers, one big and one small) and hence is indeed factive.

In view of the fact that the Agul participle seems to be undoubtedly factive, its failure to occur in exclamatives remains to be explained. I hypothesize that the presuppositional meaning of participles in Agul has been grammaticalized to form a part of the tense/aspect system, so that the participle no longer denotes a fact which requires some modal frame. Table 1 summarizes the TAM meanings expressed by participles in Agul: as is clear from the table, the participle-based forms are used in a series of experiential and generic forms and also for the expression of the intentional future.

In fact, the pattern of grammaticalization of participial forms in Agul is entirely in line with a number of attested grammaticalization paths: on one hand, (VOSTRIKOVA 2007) has shown that nominalized verb forms are very frequently grammaticalized in experiential constructions; on the other, (KALININA 1999, 2008) has shown that nominalized verb forms are cross-linguistically well attested in generics, and offers a semantically based explanation for this fact. Finally, intentional futures expressed by participial forms are quite frequent in the languages of Daghestan. An intentional future employing the participle is also present in Avar, as I will discuss below.

	Perfective subsystem	Imperfective subsystem
Converb	Perfective past	Present Habitual
+ present copula	*ruχun-e*	*ruχaj-e*
	Non-actual past	Past Habitual
+ past copula	*ruχun-ij*	*ruχaj-i*
Converb	Resultative	Present
+ auxiliary 'is in'	*ruχuna-a, ruχuna-ja*	*ruχa-a, ruχa-ja*
	Past Resultative	Imperfect[14]
+ auxiliary 'was in'	*ruχuna-ji*	*ruχaj-i*
Participle 1	Experiential past	Present Generic
+ present copula	*ruχu-f-e*	*ruχa-f-e*
	Non-actual Experiential	Past Generic
+ past copula	*ruχu-f-ij*	*ruχa-f-ij*
Participle 2	Resultative/Experiential	Intentional future
+ present copula	*ruχunaje-f-e*	*ruχaje-f-e*
	Past Resultative/Experiential	Intentional future in the past
+ past copula	*ruχunaje-f-ij*	*ruχaje-f-ij*
Infinitive		Future
+ present copula	—	*ruχas-e*
		Irrealis
+ past copula		*ruχas-ij*

Table 1: The main tense-aspect-modality forms in Agul (MAISAK 2008)

I would therefore hypothesize that the presuppositional semantics of participles can give rise to several grammaticalization paths. According to one scenario, participles come to be incorporated into the TAM system, expressing such grammatical categories as experientials, generics, and intentionals. On the other hand, participles expressing presupposition can be grammaticalized in exclamatives (and other directions of grammaticalization are certainly possible). This hypothesis is further confirmed by the Bagwalal data: Bagwalal participles, too, are factive and at the same time form a part of the TAM system – used as finite predicates, they express habitual meaning (KIBRIK 2001: 359–360). As a result, only masdars are used as predicates in Bagwalal exclamatives. A similar pattern is attested in Avar, where the participles are widely used as finite clause predicates:

(104) Avar [ABDURAHMANOV & KHALIDOVA 1966: 38]
(The hero is helped to conquer the king's daughter by a nightingale, who hides in a chimney. "Oh, chimney, – he says, – the king's daughter will not take pity on me. Will *you* not take pity on me?" The nightingale, who is lurking in the chimney, says:)
vallah ***gurħ-ile-b-xa***
by.God have.pity-FUT.PTCP-N-EMPH
'I swear by God that I WILL take pity on you.'

[14] The affirmative Imperfect is identical to the Past Habitual (the negative forms are distinct, cf. Imperfect *ruχaduj* vs. Past Habitual *ruχajdüj*).

In CHARACHIDZE (1981) the finite uses of participles are said to constitute a particular "subjective mood": the speaker employs participial predicates to express absolute certitude and to share it with the hearer. In this way, they do not assert new information as such: in (104), the focus of assertion is instead verificational – there are two options actualized in the discourse ('the speaker WILL NOT have pity for the hero' and 'the speaker WILL have pity for the hero'), and the speaker asserts the choice of one of them rather than presenting the hearer with a piece of new information. In (104), we have a future tense participle, but authors such as BOKAREV (1949) and CHARACHIDZE (1981) have showed that all participles (past, present and future) express subjective certitude; furthermore, the past participle is shown by CHARACHIDZE to express evidentiality. So Avar participles, too, are integrated into the system of verbl grammatical categories, and this explains the fact that, except in relative clause constructions, they are not attested in Avar exclamatives as masdars are. In Archi, on the other hand, participles, which have not been grammaticalized in the verb system as markers of TAM categories, are widely used in exclamatives.

Analysis of the Agul facts in connection with the facts of other Daghestanian languages allows us to draw a cross-linguistically valuable conclusion. As the data examined here have demonstrated, all the languages in question seem to have verb forms marked with respect to information structure: they express presupposed content and are thus suitable for factive contexts. One such factive context is that of exclamatives; however, each language chooses different forms to mark the factivity of the exclamative predicate, based on the position of the verb form in the system of grammatical TAM categories. I would therefore hypothesize that the key to the use of nominalized and (more broadly) of non-finite verb forms in exclamatives should be sought in their information structure marking capabilities, namely in their ability to mark backgrounded facts and presuppositions. At the same time, it should be kept in mind that the choice of a particular form in exclamative contexts depends not only on its semantics, but is also stipulated by the structure of the verb system in general.

3.3. The problem of finiteness with reference to the structure of North-Caucasian exclamatives

As Caucasian exclamatives usually use non-finite verbs, this poses the problem of how such "verbless" constructions should be analysed in syntactic terms. One way is to search for some "unrevealed" finite element – such as a null modal, in line with Grohmann's suggestion regarding independent infinitives in the languages of Europe (cf. the discussion of examples (13)–(15) above in section 1.2.1), or an omitted

matrix predicate giving rise to insubordination, if one is to follow Evans's analysis. However, in (KALININA 1999) I have proposed the reverse grammaticalization path, directed from independent to subordinate usage. On the basis of data from Bagwalal, I claim in that paper that Bagwalal participles are not verbs converted into noun modifiers – they are primarily finite forms dedicated to the marking of presupposition in various contexts; in attributive clauses they serve to identify the referent, since the referent can be efficiently identified by making reference to some presupposed information. There is also psycholinguistic evidence of sorts to support this view: when I presented my Bagwalal language consultants with an isolated verbal noun and asked to use it in an utterance they unreflectingly produced an exclamative independent clause, and not a complement clause as one might have expected.

3.4. Perspectives for further cross-linguistic investigation

In conclusion, I would like to formulate the following outstanding questions which must be addressed in the further cross-linguistic study of exclamatives:

a) what are the key features of exclamatives, both formal and semantic?
b) what theoretical and typological generalizations can be made on the basis of exclamative data about the grammatical expression of exclamative force?

The authors cited in this paper have concentrated on the constituent semantic features of exclamatives, such as their presupposed content and reference to a subjective scale. They also relate the observed features of exclamative constructions to these semantic traits. After analysing exclamatives in several languages of the Caucasus, I have claimed that the use of non-finite verb forms in exclamatives is directly related to their capacity to mark presupposition in other contexts. Besides, I hypothesize that the finite use of masdars and participles is more basic than their subordinate functions.

Unlike question words in the languages of Europe, the question words in my sample of the languages of the Caucasus are restricted in their use in exclamatives. Neither in Adyghe nor in Archi are interrogative markers in questions and exclamatives straightforwardly comparable: in Adyghe the question word in exclamatives does not host the question particle, unlike in questions, while in Archi the question word in exclamatives requires additional modification. I agree with Zanuttini & Portner's analysis whereby exclamatives contain a variable whose quantification domain the speaker expands by virtue of uttering the exclamative, but the question remains open as to the markers of this variable. Hypothetically, Caucasian question words may fail to bind the

variable in the open proposition, and the variable thus remains free, as it is in questions. The Caucasian data make it plausible to suggest that the range of "widening operators" available for exclamatives shows great variety: they can be expressed by question words, modified question words (for instance with particles), zero morphemes in combination with a special form of the predicate (masdar or participle), or grammaticalized verb forms (such as forms of the verb 'to see' in Archi). Further research could concentrate on the contribution of all these various markers to the compositional analysis of exclamative semantics.

Further research is also needed in the domain of the semantics of nominalized and participial forms employed as predicates in exclamative sentences. First, it is necessary to gain insights into their semantics and their ability to mark information structure, i.e. presupposition, in various contexts. As a language may have several forms marking factive meanings, it is worth explaining the choice of particular forms for factive contexts based on the grammaticalization of other forms expressing presupposition in the grammatical system of verbal categories.

Other directions could be suggested for future cross-linguistic research on exclamatives. For instance, one remarkable difference between European and Caucasian exclamatives is the fact that Caucasian languages appear to have transitivity-sensitive structures for exclamative clauses: intransitive verbs are likely to form exclamatives with masdars, while free-standing NPs with relative clauses are more suitable for transitive verbs. I hypothesize that the difference lies in the quantification domain for transitive and intransitive verbs. In exclamatives with intransitive verbs, it is the properties of the action itself that are quantified and thus form the basis for the quantification scale. In exclamative sentences referring to transitive situations, the properties of the Theme (direct object) belong to the quantification scale by default, so it is the Theme that surfaces as the head of the free-standing relative clause and provides reference to the scale. In both cases, the quantification operator is null, but it can be made explicit by a word meaning 'manner' (cf. *kuc*-exclamatives in Archi). This transitivity-neutral construction can be used in an exclamative with a transitive verb if the speaker intends to break the default rule.

One possible area for further research is the relationship between exclamatives and other grammatical categories, one of these being mirativity. ZANUTTINI & PORTNER (2003) acknowledge that the meaning of exclamatives at some level of analysis approaches that of the mirative, as 'It is unexpected that P' (the mirative meaning) also implies widening by adding new possibilities to the previously expected range. However, Zanuttini & Portner emphasize that exclamatives do not label the whole situation as unexpected, but merely some of its properties: the degrees of manifestation of this property form a scale that is further widened by the utterance of an exclamative. In Archi mirativity is grammaticalized as

part of the verbal category of evidentiality, so the study of the mirative in Nakh-Daghestanian languages might help to identify the meaning of exclamatives more precisely.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person
I, II, III, IV	genders (in Archi)
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ADV	adverb
ALL	allative
ART	article
ASS	assertive
ATR	attributive
AUX.FIN	finite auxiliary
CAUSE	cause
COND	conditional
CVB	converb
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DYN	dynamic
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
FACT	factive
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INTERJ	interjection
INV	inversion
IPF	imperfective
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis
LAT	lative
LOC	locative
MNR	manner converb
MSD	masdar (verbal noun)
N	neutral (gender)
NEG	negative
NMZ	nominalization
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PF	perfective
PFCT	perfect/perfective past
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POSTP	postposition
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCL	particle
PTCP	participle
RES	resultative
Q	question
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
S	single argument of canonical intransitive verb
SG	singular
SPEC	specifier
SUPER	localization ‘super’

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List of contributors

GILLES AUTHIER is an Associate Professor of Linguistics at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales in Paris. His main research fields are the synchronic description and diachrony of understudied Lezgic languages of the East Caucasian family (Kryz, Budugh and Rutul dialects), and language contact and convergence between these and genetically unrelated languages such as Azerbaijani (Turkic) and Tati (Iranian). His current projects include the collection of text corpora and grammatical descriptions of Rutul dialects and Budugh, and the processing and translation of Kryz and Tati folklore.

GILLES AUTHIER
INALCO
2, rue de Lille
F-75343 Paris Cedex 07
FRANCE
gilles.authier@gmail.com

MARINA CHUMAKINA is a Research Fellow at Surrey Morphology Group, University of Surrey. Her main research interests include the inflectional morphology of the world's languages and of East Caucasian in particular, the syntax-morphology interface, and theoretical problems in descriptive linguistics.

MARINA CHUMAKINA
Surrey Morphology Group, English (J1)
Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences
University of Surrey
Guildford, Surrey, GU2 7XH,
GREAT BRITAIN
m.tchoumakina@surrey.ac.uk

NINA DOBRUSHINA is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Language and Literature, State University Higher School of Economics (Moscow). Her main research interests include the typology of modal forms, moods and modality in East Caucasian languages and sociolinguistic studies of the languages of Daghestan.

NINA DOBRUSHINA
Ul. Mjasnitskaya 20
Moscow, 101000

RUSSIA
ndobrushina@hse.ru

ELENA KALININA is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, Moscow State University. Her main research interests include the syntax of East Caucasian languages, the theory and typology of finiteness and predication, and the documentation of endangered languages. Her current projects include the documentation of several endangered Tungusic languages spoken in the Far East of Russia.

ELENA KALININA
Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics
Philological Faculty, 1st Building of Humanities
Leninskie Gory, GSP-2
Moscow, 119992
RUSSIA
jurievna@gmail.com

TIMUR MAISAK is a Senior Researcher in the Department of Caucasian Languages of the Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow). His main research interests include the verb systems of East Caucasian languages, the typology of tense and aspect, and grammaticalization theory. His current projects include a grammatical description of Agul, research into Udi morphosyntax, and the processing of text corpora of Agul and Udi.

TIMUR MAISAK
Institute of Linguistics
Russian Academy of Sciences
Bolshoy Kislovsky pereulok 1
Moscow, 125009
RUSSIA
timur.maisak@gmail.com

NINA SUMBATOVA is an Associate Professor at the Russian State University for the Humanities (Moscow). Her main research interests include the syntax of East Caucasian and West Caucasian languages, especially the morphosyntactic expression of information structure and illocutionary force. Her current research projects include a grammatical description of the dialects of the Dargwa language group (East Caucasian) and a collective field study of Adyghe (West Caucasian).

NINA SUMBATOVA
Ul. Bolshaya Gruzinskaya 39-90
Moscow, 123056
RUSSIA
nina.sumbatova@gmail.com